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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

LA SURVIVANCE IN SASKATCHEWAN: SCHOOLS, POLITICS AND THE NATIVIST CRUSADE FOR CULTURAL CONFORMITY

by

Raymond J. A. Huel

A THESIS
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled: La Survivance in Saskatchewan: Schools, Politics and the Nativist Crusade for Cultural Conformity,

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ABSTRACT

Anglo-Protestant traditions and institutions have become the dominant elements in North American culture and this status has never been seriously challenged. Within the Anglo-Saxon population, there has been an influential élite which has expressed concern that Canada's British character and institutions were being threatened from within by elements which seemed to reject the values and language of the dominant group. Confronted by the presence of an allegedly "alien" minority, nativists within the Anglo-Saxon element sought to enforce cultural conformity through restrictive legislation.

While the presence of a large French-speaking Catholic population has tended to dampen assimilative pressures, it has, nevertheless, created unique cultural tensions. Zealous Anglo-Saxons were convinced that the people of Quebec, at the behest of the Catholic hierarchy, were attempting to impose their language and religion over the rest of Canada, to the detriment of the English language, culture and institutions. These alleged threats to Anglo-Protestant liberties achieved paranoiac proportions and, hence, the fear of French domination assumed even greater dimensions. Unable to conceive of a Canadian nationality in anything but Anglo-Saxon terms, nativists equated the failure to become assimilated with a lack of loyalty and true patriotism.

Anglo-French tensions were heightened and given a greater sense of urgency as the frontiers of Canada were extended westward. The West, and especially Saskatchewan, was depicted as the pride of the British Empire,

the keystone of Canada. Zealous Anglo-Saxons felt that the West's pre-ordained role could not be fulfilled if those who settled there did not adopt Anglo-Protestant values and traditions. The society envisaged by these nativists was based on that of Loyalist Ontario, reinforced by a strong evangelical tradition which stressed the social values of Protestantism. The public school appeared as the ideal instrument to mould the different national groups into responsible citizens and loyal British subjects. To perform this assimilative function, however, the public school had to provide instruction only in the English language and it could not discriminate on the basis of creed.

By the 1920's nativists in Saskatchewan were convinced that public schools could no longer perform their assimilative function because sectarianism had entrenched itself within the public school system. This alleged sectarianism was defined in terms of nuns teaching in their religious garb, the presence of religious emblems in public schools, French language instruction, and the teaching of religion in French. Against this background, the Ku Klux Klan appeared to many as the symbol of an English Protestant renaissance which would "save" the province and the dominion as well. In the election of 1929, Klansmen, Orangemen, Conservatives, and Protestant divines worked hand in hand to defeat the Liberal government of J.G. Gardiner, an administration reportedly under the domination of Quebec politicians and clerics.

The new administration, the Saskatchewan Co-operative Government, implemented a program of educational reform designed to redress nativist grievances. The nativist crusade for cultural conformity was indicative of a keenly felt anxiety on the part of individuals concerned with the nature of Saskatchewan's character and its institutions. The intensity of the nativist response can be attributed to the fact that, in an atmosphere of paranoia, patriots envisaged a total collapse of their conceptual world unless a stand were taken to restore Anglo-Protestant values to a dominant status.

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CHAPTER I

FRENCH CANADIANS AND THE ANGLO-PROTESTANT TRADITION

Historically, Anglo-Saxon Protestants have dominated the social, economic and political life of Canada since the conquest of New France. The English language, British traditions and institutions have become the dominant elements of culture in Canada and the United States subject only to a few minor modifications. The ascendency of the Anglo-Saxon element has never been seriously challenged despite the arrival of thousands of immigrants. The immigrants learned to adapt to their new environment and in time adopted the characteristic traits of their new land. The immigrant may have preserved a part of his cultural heritage and transmitted it to his children, but with the passage of time and the depletion of homestead lands, a sound knowledge of English became even more imperative. In present day society the social status to which an immigrant may aspire is to a large degree dictated by his acceptance of the customs and values of a North American society whose ethos is decidedly Anglo-Saxon Protestant.

In Canada the presence of a large number of French-speaking Catholics located primarily in one geographical area has tended to make assimilative forces less compelling than those in the United States where conformity to a common culture and language has become a virtual prerequisite to citizenship. The French Catholic presence, while it has served to dampen assimilative pressures, nevertheless, generated cultural conflicts and tensions unique in North America. The Anglo-Saxon majority understandably has been perturbed by the determination of the French to survive as a distinct cultural entity despite various attempts to assimilate them. As a result of fortuitous historical circumstances, the French were not absorbed or relegated to the background but had to be reckoned with in making the political decisions which led to the creation of the Dominion of Canada. The French were able to secure the linguistic and religious concessions necessary for their survival as an ethnic group but these privileges, instead of abating discord, have provided the essence for one of the most contentious issues in post-Confederation history.

English-speaking Canadians have tended to justify their view that concessions accorded to French Catholics are limited to the Province of Quebec by invoking an interpretation of the British North America Act based on the letter of the law. Most English Canadians were, and are, still willing to accept a French fact in Canada so long as it is confined to Quebec. Beyond Quebec, it is argued, Canada is an English-speaking country and the French language enjoys no legal status or special privileges. French Canadians, on the other hand, base their premises on the spirit of the constitution and affirm that their linguistic rights should not be limited to Quebec but should be extended across Canada, especially to those areas containing a sizeable French-speaking population.

Concern over the nature of Canadian society gave rise to the fear that its British character and institutions were being threatened from within by those who did not seem to accept the values and traditions associated with the Anglo-Saxon élite. This élite believed that its language and culture were the finest ever devised by man. Furthermore, it believed that if Canada were not thoroughly British in nature and character, she could never fulfill her predestined rôle in the Empire, the supreme manifestation of the Anglo-Saxon character and genius.

Persons who believed that national life was being threatened by alien influences and who subsequently launched or participated in movements to compel cultural conformity in order to protect domestic traditions are generally referred to as nativists. The American historian, John Higham, has appropriately described nativism as an "intense opposition to an internal minority on the grounds of its foreign ... [non Anglo-Saxon] connections."[1] Nativists tend to question the loyalty of those groups whom they regard as foreign to their milieu. When confronted with the presence of an 'alien' minority during a period of social tension, nativists equate the failure to become assimilated to a uniform cultural norm with a lack of loyalty and patriotism.

Nativism is a rigid ideology which irrationally ascribes the blame for all the evils confronting society on some 'foreign' groups. "It mobilizes prejudices, feeds on stereotypes, radiates hysteria, and provokes our outrage against ethnic injustice."[2] Essentially nativism is a defensive type of nationalism but the defense varies according to whether the threat or peril is religious, revolutionary or racial in nature. There has been very little conceptual change in nativist traditions in North America. "The big changes were not so much intellectual as emotional. The same idea might be mildly innocuous at one time and charged with potent feeling at another."[3] The significance and essence of nativism is to be found in this intensity of feeling whose overt manifestation assumes the form of propaganda, restrictionist associations and repressive legislation.

The anthropologist, Ralph Linton, defines a nativist movement as "Any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture."[4] Nativist movements concern themselves with particular elements of culture and never with cultures as a whole. Certain elements of the culture are selected for accentuation and given symbolic value. The more distinctive these elements are in comparison to those of competing cultures, the more valuable they are as symbols of the society's unique character.[5] After being selected and emphasized, these distinctive elements are then perpetuated in an attempt to maintain social solidarity and cultural homogeneity. These elements serve as symbols to designate the uniqueness of the society they represent, and they provide members with a pool of common knowledge and experience which is exclusively theirs.[6] The nativist response occurs only when there are a sufficient number of 'outsiders' to cause the dominant social group to become aware of their presence. Once the alarm is raised, members of the social élite band together to protect themselves from being submerged by groups whose cultures and institutions are regarded as inimical to those distinctive traits that characterize the dominant culture. In the North American nativist tradition these unique symbols are the English language, Protestantism and representative government.

Nativist movements do not usually arise in a society where the component cultural groups are satisfied with their current relationships. Common to all the immediate causes that give birth to such movements is a situation wherein the interacting cultural groups are unequal. Nativistic tendencies naturally will be strongest within those classes or individuals who occupy a favored or dominant position and who feel that their status is being threatened by social change or the presence of other cultures. Threatened by what it regarded as a loss of respect and status, the dominant group took steps "to preserve, defend, or enhance the dominance and prestige of its own style of living within the total society."[7] The measures taken to bolster waning influence and prestige and to restore the essence of the national character take the form of movements to impose Anglo-Saxon Protestant values upon others. Thus, moral reform movements like temperance and prohibition, as well as associations to compel cultural conformity such as the Ku Klux Klan are indicative of a keen struggle for status between divergent cultural groups.

Until recently status rivalry was one facet of nativism which tended to escape the notice of historians as they preoccupied themselves with ethnic considerations. John Higham, America's foremost scholar on nativism and author of Strangers In The Land, has urged historians to look beyond racial differences and explore the broader and deeper foundations of nativism. He contends that a truer perspective would have to include "the status rivalries ... through which men of different backgrounds have competed for prestige and for favorable positions in community life." Higham argues that these tensions are basic realities and indicate that divergent and unequal backgrounds are causes and not simply the results of national discord. In discussing the position of Irish Catholics in the United States, for example, Higham contends that they did not suffer too much from nativist visions of popish conspiracies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. They were free to practice their religion and suffered no legal disqualifications. Their great handicap, however, was their social and economic subordination to the descendants of the Founding Fathers.[8]

J. R. Gusfield has pursued the theme of status rivalry in his penetrating interpretation of the American temperance movement as the use of status politics to affirm the dominance of Anglo-Saxon values and morality. According to Gusfield, temperance, after 1896, was no longer part of a larger movement of economic and social reform but a "cultural struggle of the traditional rural Protestant society" against a society that increasingly was becoming urban, industrialized, and Catholic.[9] Through temperance and prohibition, rural, middle class America fought back against a loss of prestige and influence by attempting to impose its morality and respectability on others. Temperance was a "delaying action" by a "rear guard" of old America which saw its values and morality cast aside by socio-economic changes. Gusfield argues that social change not only alters the economic status of people but also their respect:

> We have always understood the desire to defend fortune. We should also understand the desire to defend respect. It is less clear because it is symbolic in nature but it is not less significant.[10]

Group prejudice may provide a form of "mental crutch" for feelings of insecurity brought about by social change or other factors. As Higham has demonstrated in his discerning study of Henry Bowers, founder of the American Protective Association, those who create or join nativist movements are often individuals who have experienced very intense frustrations. Resentment against another group helps to alleviate feelings of inadequacy or insecurity.[11] The image of a conspiratorial group striking at the very essence of the nation and of the glorious millenium that would accompany the destruction of the conspiracy can provide satisfaction for many of the nativist's desires and insecurity. Furthermore, personal interests can become legitimized and dignified by merging them with them with the national interest while opponents are identified with a sinister, foreign conspiracy.[12] Complex socio-economic phenomena can be simplified for all to comprehend by attributing the responsibility for all the problems facing the nation on the machinations of an alien element. The presence of such disruptive, subversive forces can also serve as a catalyst to close ranks and attain unity by means of opposition to common enemies. The nativist response to an internal menace is indicative of a keenly felt need for fraternization and social unanimity and of a personal identification with a righteous cause. Psychic defenses are bolstered by suspecting and attacking an 'alien' minority.

Richard Hofstadter has described this peculiar pathological behavior as the paranoid style in politics because no other term "evokes the qualities of heated exaggeration, suspiciousness and conspiratorial fantasy."[13] The paranoid style has to do with the way in which ideas are perceived and advocated rather than whether the ideas themselves are true or false. The central image of the paranoid style is a vast, ominous, conspiracy directed not against the individual but against a culture and a way of life. This conspiracy is depicted in terms of a huge, concealed, monolithic, institution which would exclude the majority of the citizens but which would nevertheless, impose its will and views on the nation at large. This subversive force is held responsible for the division, disunity and uncertainty on the national scene.[14] The fate of this conspiracy is pictured in apocalyptic terms in the hope that such imagery will arouse emotions, eliminate indifference and cement patriotic citizens into a cohesive brotherhood. Since the conflict is between absolute good on the one hand and absolute evil on the other, the struggle must be carried out to a finish leaving no room for compromise or accommodation with the enemy. This insistence on unqualified victory leads to the formulation of unrealistic goals which can never be fulfilled and the cycle of the vicious circle becomes established.[15] The nativist is prone to adopt the paranoid style because it is "a psychological device for projecting various symbols of evil on an opponent and for building national unity through a common sense of alarm and peril."[16]

There have been three main themes in the North American nativist tradition: anti-Catholicism, xenophobia and the belief in the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon national character and institutions. Nativism has often been regarded as synonomous with anti-Catholicism but, as has been demonstrated, its essence and implications are more deep-seated and far-reaching. Its basic tenets, however, are rooted in the religious upheavals of sixteenth century Europe and their subsequent national rivalries. The Protestant Reformation had been closely tied to national aspirations, and in England the Gunpowder Plot provided James I and his government with an opportunity to denounce Catholics as traitors. A new holy day was introduced into the liturgy on November 5 with prayers thanking Providence for its assistance in discovering the plot. This act of thanksgiving was made in the midst of expressions that Catholics could not be good Christians and faithful subjects.[17] This marked antagonism to and fear of Catholicism was carried over to North America where the dominant Anglo-Saxon group regarded Catholicism as a revival of the medieval intransigence and superstition their forefathers had rebelled against.

Zealous Protestants were not only offended by the Catholic Church as an institution but by its doctrines, which were equated with superstition and its worship with idolatry. The belief that Catholicism was superstition was simultaneously increased and confirmed in the Protestant mind by the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary in 1854, the Syllabus of Errors in 1864 and the decree of papal infallibility in 1870.[18] In an age of rationalism, the Catholic Church appeared as a despotic institution that hindered the advancement of learning and progress. It was argued that Catholics were not free because they were bound by the dictates of the Pope and that this subordination of the individual to authority was a challenge to the cherished British liberties acquired over centuries past. Furthermore, since Catholics were not free to read, think or speak freely, enlightenment could not triumph over ignorance and evil. By claiming to be above and beyond society, the Catholic Church was not subject to the influence of public opinion, the final arbiter of values in a democratic society.[19] Many Protestants also suspected that Rome was morally depraved and that indecency and licentiousness were the consequences of Catholic beliefs and practices such as a celibate clergy, secluded monastic orders and the confessional.

If accusations of superstition and depravity were not enough to convince others to oppose Romanism, staunch Protestants always had recourse to the argument that Catholics were bound by a "double allegiance" to Pope and nation. The Pope was regarded as a foreign sovereign, a despot who claimed supreme jurisdiction over all men and all nations in both temporal and spiritual affairs. Catholics blindly accepted these papal pretentions and their primary political allegiance was to Rome and not to the state. Since Catholicism was inimical to the exercise of responsible citizenship, Catholic loyalty was dubious to say the least, and no concessions should be granted to members of that denomination. Instead, their participation in public life should be restricted in order to preserve the liberties of other citizens.[20]

Fervent monarchists, who believed in the traditions of a "Protestant Constitution" were always on their guard to prevent the pillar of that constitution from falling under the influence of Rome. In 1930, for example, Prime Minister R. B. Bennett received a letter from H. P. Blanchard, a worried citizen in Ellershouse, N. S., concerning the possibility that, at the forthcoming Imperial Conference, an attempt might be made to eliminate the requirement that the King must be a Protestant. Blanchard argued that, in theory, the monarch should have freedom of conscience but, in practice, this was impossible since the Pope had become temporal ruler of the Vatican. From this premise, Blanchard went on to describe the possible calamities that might befall the realm in the event that the monarch abjured his Protestant faith:

> to make our King subject to the Pope, and such he must be if a Roman Catholic, would inferentially make him subject to a foreign Potentate and King, namely, the King of the Vatican.
>
> Such a situation would be intolerable. For, suppose a war in which Italy was engaged, and incidentally, the Vatican allied to Italy. Then, our King, as a subject of the Vatican would theoretically be at war allied to Italy also.
>
> . . . .
>
> While you are Prime Minister, you cannot be Postmaster in Saskatoon. Incompatible. And while King George is King, he cannot profess a religion which makes him theoretically subject to a foreign Potentate. He protects his conscience by resigning his crown.[21]

Given such ideological suppositions, it was not surprising that Protestants saw the diabolical hand of Rome in every conceivable intrigue. Catholicism presented the fragmented, competing Protestant sects with the image of a highly disciplined, monolithic institution. The North American milieu, with its traditons of freedom and egalitarianism, lent itself well to tales of devious Romish plots to curtail liberties and enslave an unsuspecting people. It was argued that the Pope was attempting to secure in North America those very powers which he had been forced to give up in Europe. The large numbers of Catholic immigrants coming to North America were regarded as the avant garde of the archpriest of Satan and as proof of a shrewd attempt to populate the continent with Catholics.

The Catholic "menace" was a useful instrument because it could be transported from the level of intellectual combat where only a few could participate, to that of practical politics where every lover of liberty could strike his blow for righteousness. To win the support of the solid Protestant middle class, nativists attempted to demonstrate that Catholicism was the sworn enemy of the Bible and, hence, Protestants were duty-bound to combat popery in all its forms and guises. In donning the mantle of patriotism, nativism became a respectable preoccupation as Protestant propagandists and lecturers informed a credulous public of the insidious doctrines and conspiracies emanating from the Vatican.

In contrast to Catholicism which was associated with the powers of darkness, nativists and ardent Protestants regarded Protestantism as the embodiment of the highest principles which have guided humanity. Paul Villard, a prominent French Canadian Protestant clergyman and physician in Montreal, voiced the convictions of his English-speaking co-religionists when he wrote:

> Wherever Protestantism has become a vital principle in the life of nations, the nation has sprung into power intellectually, commercially, morally, spiritually. Without Protestantism, without the great upheavals of the Reformation, civilization would still be in the mire of the Dark Ages. Protestantism has given to the human mind its self respect and has made of man a man in the true sense of the word, a creature that may aspire, by following Christ, to be the image of its divine creator.[22]

In addition to the anti-Catholic animus, xenophobia and racism also provided staples for the North American nativist's intellectual diet and emotional répertoire of patriotic rhetoric. In Canada, the fear of foreigners and the belief in superiority of British institutions and traditions have been distilled into Francophobia, a vitriol more suitable for domestic consumption. From the Conquest to the present day the cry "French domination" has been a recurrent theme in the vocabulary of the English Canadian nativist. So frequently has this allegation been voiced that, in justice, one might accord it the status of an obsession.[23] Quite often this Francophobia has been combined with anti-Catholic sentiment with the result that the "French menace" has become even more formidable. According to the assertions which were made, the province of Quebec was dictating to the Federal government through its solid parliamentary bloc in Ottawa. The French bloc, in turn, was but the willing tool of the Catholic hierarchy obtaining special concessions for the Catholic Church in return for political support. To nativists, it was obvious that Quebec and the Church were not satisfied with the linguistic and religious privileges granted by virtue of the British North America Act. French Canadian statesmen and priests were attempting to illegally impose their language and religion on the rest of Canada to the detriment of the English language, culture and institutions. What the French had failed to achieve by force of arms in North America they were accomplishing by corruption and intrigue. At the turn of the last century there was even a fear among some Protestants in the eastern United States that New England would be annexed to Quebec to form a "great French Catholic independent state."[24]

In 1907, for example, Robert Sellar published The Tragedy of Quebec, the Expulsion of its Protestant Farmers to describe the gradual decline of the Protestant population in the Eastern Townships and their replacement by French Catholic farmers. In subsequent editions Sellar elaborated on his theme that, as a result of the influence of the Catholic clergy, the British yeomen farmers found their situation untenable and were forced to seek their rights as British subjects in other provinces.[25] Some twenty years later, Paul Villard wrote that the policy of Quebec still aimed at driving Protestants from within its frontiers. Only the methods had changed; instead of persecution and boycott, there was recourse to the more peaceful means of the outright purchase of farms belonging to Protestants.[26] Villard reported that the movement was progressing insidiously. The plan was to mass French Catholics within Quebec and oust Protestants. With the help of English-speaking Catholics in Ontario, French Catholics hoped to subjugate Canada to the Vatican. The author showed ingenuity behind the plan of French rural settlements: "And indeed when mines are exhausted, when railways are completed, when forests have been cleared away, foreign hands will leave the land and farmers only will remain."[27]

While Sellar and Villard were denouncing French-Catholic colonization schemes, Protestant propagandists were warning Anglo-Saxon audiences to be on their guard against other equally nefarious aspects of Quebec policy. J. J. Maloney, the prominent Protestant lecturer and Ku Klux Klan spokesman, was but one of the many concerned citizens who denounced the fraudulent linguistic claims of French Canadians in the 1920's and 1930's:

> The French language is now on our postal money orders, train tickets, paper money, and the Canadian Radio Commission is utilizing French on the air by broadcasts, much to the disgust of the West and Ontario.
>
> Why all this? Simply the hand of Rome. Quebec is French, and Quebec is Rome. Note how even the Scottish, Irish and German Roman Catholics will defend the use of bi-lingualism. It is a case of Church first, for the more influence Quebec gets, the more sway will the Roman Catholic Church enjoy.[28]

Maloney went on to describe the appearance of French on corn flake boxes and other articles selling west of the Great Lakes to a population that was ninety-five per cent English-speaking, as the "thin edge of the wedge."[29]

Less prominent individuals also made their views known on the nature of Canadian society and culture as the occasion arose. In 1934, W. J. Robinson of Kamloops, B. C., complained about the use of French on the radio and asked why British subjects in a British dominion had to listen to a bunch of "French giberish" they didn't even understand in the first place. He complained that the French now wanted money printed with their "pea soup" language on it and that this was another matter British subjects found difficult to comprehend. Robinson was not satisfied with Ottawa's "excuse" that only twenty per cent of broadcast time was in French. He argued, that given the way the French were "over-running" the English in everything and getting away with it, the proportion would soon be eighty per cent French and twenty per cent English. Urging Prime Minister Bennett to stand up for British rights, Robinson, nevertheless, remained pessimistic as to the outcome:

> Oh this Canada will soon belong to the Foreigner and the Britisher will be driven out completely ... some politicians we have here.[30]

Indignation over the issuance of bilingual banknotes was not long in reaching the office of the Prime Minister. Lila Stillar of Sturgeon Falls, Ontario, for example, returned some bilingual banknotes to Bennett from which she had removed the offending French words. Not satisfied with also having cut out the words "Jelly Fish Bennett" across a bilingual dollar bill, the irate woman went on to state:

> I only wish I was a millionaire and would cut up every hellish damn cent I get of it. That is about all we get up here now is that damn stuff which you can't read. I am going to tell everyone I know to cut it up and we will soon get rid of it that way. This is seven dollars worth I have sent you and I want money with the English language on it right away.[31]

In a more serious vein, Dr. J. W. Edwards, Conservative Member of Parliament and past Grand Master of the Orange Lodge of Ontario East, had, during the Ontario school controversy, accused Quebec of attempting to build distinct national units across Canada which would remain French and Catholic in character. He went on to argue that Confederation had not resulted in a friendly co-operation in nation-building:

> The Quebec of today, its insistence in thrusting sectarianism into every branch of the public service, its opposition to non-sectarian Public Schools, its demand for equal recognition of the French language, its adoption of methods which have driven English-speaking Protestants from the lands cleared by their forefathers, its refusal to bear an equal share in military service when the fate of Canada and the Empire was at stake, and the civilization of centuries hung in the balance, proves that Confederation, instead of abating, has developed and solidified the menace to national unity.[32]

Edward's views are characteristic of that fervent element within the English-speaking population who could only regard Canada as part of an empire and subordinate to Britain. This group could not, or would not, think in terms of a Canadian identity or nation because in an age dazzled by the brilliance of empire, such views were equated with treason or heresy. Like the religious beliefs of the fundamentalists, the convictions of these colonial-minded imperialist monarchists formed a pyramid, with each tenet anchored to the one below. If one part of the ideological structure were to be removed or replaced, the entire edifice would collapse. In the turbulent post World War I world, the concept of empire not only provided association and a meaningful identity for these people, it also provided continuity and direction. The Dominions were the constituent links in the imperial chain, each welded to the other and in turn to Britain. Hence, Canada had an important rôle to play in the maintenance of the Empire and in the preservation and enhancement of the English language, British traditions and institutions. Some argued that Canada had been entrusted with a special mission: as "the residuary legatee of British ideals of tolerance and fair play" in North America, the Dominion was "to be the interpreter and reconciler of a new world."[33] If Canada failed to fulfill her pre-ordained rôle in the Empire, the finest language, culture and institutions ever devised by man could not enlighten the world. Thus to staunch Anglo-Protestants, the Empire was more than a figment of the imagination: it was a precious legacy to be preserved, enhanced and cherished at all cost. The British character of Canada was unequivocably affirmed by R. Sellar who enthusiastically accepted D'Alton McCarthy's policy of one school, one language and one allegiance to make Canada British, not only in name but in reality, especially in the developing western provinces:

> By virtue of conquest, of settlement,of sacrifice to make it what it is, Canada is British, and whoever plans or attempts to make it anything else is an enemy and is to be treated as a traitor to the common weal. There must be no compromising, no paltering for the sake of securing temporary peace. Requests for special favors are to be decisively refused. The time has come when the insolent demands of foreign interests will have to be grappled with or Canada will cease to be British.[34]

If the Quebec ultramontanes were more Catholic than the pope, Anglo-Protestant zealots in Canada proved themselves to be more British than the monarch. Convinced that the French Canadian through his language, religion, school system, and church-state relations was the antithesis of everything the Empire represented, English-speaking nativists opposed any extension of the privileges accorded to the French, and the use of the French language outside Quebec was interpreted as an act of aggression. The Canadian society envisaged by these individuals was modelled on that of Loyalist Ontario which they regarded as "the inner fortress of British citizenship in Canada." English Protestants in Ontario were motivated by the purest example of patriotism and by the self-sacrificing loyalty of their ancestors to an ideal.[35] This English Canadian nationalism was reinforced by a strong evangelical tradition which stressed the social values of Protestantism. It was this Anglo-Protestant culture and tradition which the Methodist clergy of Ontario, for example, tried so hard to perpetuate in the western provinces.[36] Within this cultural projection, there was little room for an extension of French Canadian culture or for the conflicting norms and religions of the European immigrants.

While all nativists were convinced that Quebec posed the most dangerous threat to British institutions, not all were convinced that the menace came from the French Canadian people *per se*. Sellar, for example, argued that the Catholic clergy was using nationalism to advance its own ambitions in Quebec. The French were simply being used as pawns by the Church whose real goal was to bring Canada under its influence. According to Sellar,

> A French Quebec, free in thought and action, would be no menace to the Dominion; a Papal Quebec is, for it stands for a power that is not working for the common good, but to place the reins of political power in the hands of an ecclesiastical caste.[37]

Calvin E. Amaron, President of the French Protestant College, Springfield, Mass., was also of the opinion that the danger came from Rome and not from French Canadians. It was the ultramontane system of religion and politics that was incompatible with British citizenship and which impeded the progress of the nation in the past. Amaron's solution for the French problem was to bring the Gospel and a liberal education to Quebec and thus emancipate it from the yoke of Rome. Amaron warned English Protestants not to make this issue a question of race. He argued the lack of development in Quebec was not due to racial defects but to education, religion and intellectual development.[38]

So long as the cultural controversy concerned only a French Catholic Quebec and an English Protestant Ontario, the dispute reached a state of equilibrium bordering on a stalemate. A new dimension was added, however, when the geographical limits of the polemic were extended westward to include the area which today comprises the three prairie provinces. With the opening of that area to settlement and the arrival of thousands of immigrants to take up homestead lands, the worst fears of Anglo Protestant nativists appeared to be on the verge of being realized. The land was being populated by people whose language, religion and traditions differed from those of the dominant group. Furthermore, the bilingual features and educational privileges of the Manitoba Act of 1870 and the North-West Territories Acts of 1875 and 1877 were interpreted by many as evidence of a plot to establish a second Quebec in the West.

The old Anglo-French conflict was not only heightened by its movement westward, it was also given a sense of urgency. The Canadian West was regarded by many as the New Jerusalem of North America and like its American counterpart, the Canadian West also had its "myth of the garden." The West would be the home of a robust, vigorous, progressive society, free of all the encumbrances to be found in the older settled regions of the Dominion. The institutions and traditions of this new region were naturally Anglo Protestant and the language to be English. At all cost, the bilingual, bicultural nature of eastern Canada must not be allowed to gain a foothold in the West. That area must become a bastion of Empire, the rejuvenator of national values and aspirations. Sellar saw the status of the West as a "commanding issue", one which would redeem national politics from being a mere struggle between the ins and the outs. Britons were not to be prevented by the Catholic clergy from establishing British principles on a firm foundation in the North-West. There was a sense of urgency in his appeal:

> The future of the Northwest is trembling in the balance. Are we, who love the Old Land and who glory in being British, going to listen to the call of the West to save it from the thrall of the priest and the foreigner?

Many people felt that the West would no longer continue to be British if the large influx of immigrants continued unabated. They argued that it was crucial to keep the West British because the West would decide what Canada was to be. Sellar reflected these anxieties when he urged English Canadians to make a supreme effort to keep the North-West British by insisting on four essential points: "One Language, One School, Separation of Church and State, No Recognition of Race."[40]

For those who equated national unity with cultural homogeneity, the public school appeared as the instrument par excellence with which to mould the different national groups into responsible British subjects. It was felt that if the national groups who settled in Canada did not adopt the essential values and characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon culture, strife and anarchy would result. Dr. J. T. M. Anderson, former Director of Education Among New Canadians in Saskatchewan, and later Premier and Minister of Education during a critical period of religious-racial animosity in that province, described the public school as "the great melting pot into which must be placed these diverse racial groups and from which will eventually emerge the pure gold of Canadian citizenship." According to Anderson, the public school and the English language were the great solvents that would make the New Canadian lose all his foreign characteristics.[41] Many people felt that if the public school was to perform its assimilative function it must provide instruction only in the English language and it must not discriminate on the basis of creed. Education was to consist of a standard regimen applied to all children without exception. It was argued that the segregation of children along linguistic and religious lines for educational purposes fostered disunity, and that confusion and distrust were the inevitable consequences. Educational division was regarded as a cancer weakening a united Canada and leading to national disaster.[42] Hence, it was the duty of government to erase racial and religious differences rather than perpetuate and accentuate them by means of separate schools.

In addition to the issues of national unity and disunity, the separate school question also engendered a polemic concerning special privileges. While it could not be denied that Catholics had established more separate schools than have Protestants, the fact remained that both denominations had an equal right to such schools. The fact that Protestants had not fully availed themselves of their constitutional guarantees should not be construed to mean that Catholics had special rights in educational matters which other religious persuasions did not possess. Be that as it may, hard-core Anglo-Protestants and organizations such as the Orange Lodge argued that Catholics were a favored class enjoying special privileges, and that this state of affairs was a ranking injustice. W. H. G. Armstrong, a prominent official in the Orange Order in Saskatchewan and author of a book on the dual school system, affirmed that the control of education had been taken away from the Catholic church in every "progressive and enterprising nation" with "most desirable and beneficial results" but that Canada, unfortunately, was moving in the opposite direction and granting special concessions which enabled Rome to interfere with the education of youth.[43] Arguing that no free country could maintain its liberty and intelligence when Rome controlled education, Armstrong urged Canadians to lay a sure foundation for the future:

> If we are to continue as part and parcel of that great and mighty nation to which we are all so proud to belong; if we are to protect and perpetuate the priceless heritage of civil and religious liberty bequeathed to us by our ancestors, and for which our heroes have willingly died, it is absolutely

> necessary that the fundamental principles of nation-building be carefully outlined and strictly adhered to. The three great essentials in the building of a nation are One School, One Language, and One Flag, and at this most critical period, which occurs in the life of every nation, let us, as Canadians, not forget or neglect our sacred duty.[44]

If the existence of separate schools were not bad enough in inself, the fact that these schools were reportedly forced upon Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905 was a far greater evil. According to Armstrong, it was the illiterate, backward people of Quebec who brought pressure to bear on the Federal government to saddle the new progressive provinces with an archaic school system.[45] The Federal government not only betrayed the interests of Canada and abridged the rights of the new provinces in educational matters, it was also doing its utmost to create the "absolutely false impression" that these separate schools had been established by virtue of the British North America Act and were therefore irrevokable. Armstrong argued that it was as a result of this "erroneous impression" that separate schools had been tolerated for so long.[46] In the meantime, the province of Saskatchewan, as a result of the influence of the French Catholic clergy, was passing amendments to the School Act which had the effect of strengthening the separate school at the expense of the public school. Furthermore, the public had not been made aware of these momentous changes until they had been placed on the statute books.[47] The solution, according to Armstrong and his colleagues, required the abolition of separate schools and the introduction of non-sectarian public schools as Manitoba had done in 1890. According to Armstrong, this action was constitutionally within the jurisdiction of Alberta and Saskatchewan because separate schools had been illegally forced upon them in the first instance.

While the separate school question remained a contentious issue for fifteen years in Saskatchewan politics, it was soon overshadowed by the controversy, which began in the early 1920's, surrounding alleged sectarian influences within the public school system. This alleged sectarianism took the form of foreign language instruction and the presence of religious emblems and symbols and it was usually associated with public school districts where Catholics, especially French Catholics, were in the majority and, hence, exercised a dominant influence on the local school board. What was particularly aggravating to fervent Protestants was the fact that members of religious communities were engaged as public school teachers in many districts under the direction of Catholic trustees. To critical Anglo-Saxons, a French-speaking Catholic nun was far from being the model of the loyal and patriotic citizen that was expected of a public school teacher. If the thought of a nun, dressed in the garb of her order, employed as a public school teacher, were enough to offend Protestant sensibilities, the fact that some public schools were being conducted in premises rented from the Catholic Church added insult to injury. In addition to nuns and convent class rooms, Protestants regarded the presence of the crucifix and pictures and statues of saints to be equally obnoxious reminders of the influence of Rome. This suspicion was confirmed by the use of certain readers and grammars where French was an optional subject of study, and which contained passages critical of Protestantism. There were also accusations that, in many instances, Catholic public schools employed teachers whose knowledge of English was imperfect and who devoted most of the school day to the teaching of religion and French. Behind the trustees who condoned such nefarious practices and influences Protestants perceived the hand of Rome in the person of the Catholic priest. The priest was regarded as the real director of the public school; the local trustees were mere figureheads, "elected at his behest."[48]

In itself the alleged presence of sectarianism within the public school system might not have provoked so much agitation had it not been for the presence of a very small number of Protestant children attending public schools controlled by Catholic ratepayers. For one reason or another, the Protestant minority rarely exercised its right to establish a separate school and its children were educated in the public school. In the 1920's these children were depicted as martyrs for the cause of religious freedom and toleration by ultra-Protestants and their press. Examples were often cited, though never corroborated, of Protestant children in Saskatchewan being forced to recite Catholic prayers, kneel before Catholic symbols and to cross themselves in the Catholic manner. It was indeed time for the forces of righteousness to battle and defeat the powers of darkness and superstition. The public school, the province, the Dominion and, incidentally, the Empire had to be made safe for Protestantism and the Anglo-Saxon culture.

While the Protestant proponents of Public schools insisted on the removal of Catholic "sectarian" influences from the schools, very few of them wanted the public school to be totally secular. Sellar was definitely in the minority when he argued that education must limit itself to secular knowledge and that "of necessity, not of choice, the Public School has to be neutral, colorless as to creed."[49] The majority insisted upon Christian religious education in public schools. Education was to be neither sectarian nor secular, but religious. It was argued that there were Christian beliefs common to all and that these principles could form the basis of religious exercises in the schools.[50] These people were attempting to find a middle ground between secularism on the one hand, and sectarianism on the other. They opted for a Protestant common denominator, a denatured Protestantism which would offend few people because it was inseparable from morality, ethics and responsible citizenship. In acquainting R. B. Bennett of the political situation in Saskatchewan in 1920, J. L. White of Saskatoon ennunciated the pan-Protestantism of the nativist educational creed:

> We want one language only. We want no particular religion taught. Only the reading of the Bible known as the King James Version [.] no teachers must wear cloaks or garbs of religion in our public schools. I myself I am a Presbyterian believing in the good old Protestant truth. I am belong [sic] to no organization whatever. My hope and faith are built on things above, but while I remain here it is my duty as well as others to be up and doing what we can to protect our children and our childrens [sic] children.[51]

In the 1920's the socio-cultural tension in Saskatchewan was a microcosm of the struggle to ensure the supremacy of Anglo-Saxon ideals in the tense, intolerant atmosphere of the post-World War I era. It was argued that if the "foreign" elements continued to increase in numbers as a result of an indiscriminate federal immigration policy, and if these immigrants segregated themselves from the larger society and refused to adopt its norms and values, the West could never become a British preserve and the Anglo-Protestant character would disintegrate. A chain reaction would follow in which the collapse of the Empire and all it represented was inevitable. This catastrophe could be averted only by forcibly imposing cultural conformity on the entire population. In Saskatchewan the sense of crisis became even more ominous and imminent in 1924 when Prohibition was repealed, demonstrating the failure of the Protestant ideal. Despite this serious reverse, however, there were some who felt that something could yet be salvaged from the wreckage and who joined the ranks of an organization such as the Ku Klux Klan, for example, to fight a desperate rear guard action to preserve the essence of a cherished culture imperiled by seemingly overwhelming forces: immigration, bilingualism, Catholicism, modernism, skepticism, urbanism, machine politics, crime and drunkenness.

The political manifestations of nativism, in the form of an organization such as the Ku Klux Klan, obscured issues of a much greater magnitude. The character and dimension of the nativist response was determined by conditions and events in Saskatchewan and often these had little relationship with nativism itself. For many rural residents, meeting together in solemn conclave provided an escape from boredom and monotony; for urban dwellers the Klan provided an explanation for the deplorable conditions accompanying the growth of cities; to the Protestant whose beliefs inclined toward fundamentalism, it countered corrosive effects of modernism and skepticism; to the veteran of Britain's wars, it invigorated patriotism and love of Empire; to the residents of Moose Jaw, it was the instrument with which to rid the "Friendly City" of bootleggers and prostitutes; and, last but not least, to unscrupulous politicians, perennially in opposition, it provided the issues which, if skillfully manipulated, could lead to political power.

In political terms, nativism in Saskatchewan became a medium through which numerous individuals with varied vackgrounds and aspirations exploited fear and anxiety in an attempt to recreate what they regarded to be the essence of the Anglo-Saxon character in the province. There were political opportunists like Dr. J. T. M. Anderson, the Conservative leader and future Premier, who phrased the issues in terms of long overdue educational reform leading to a non-confessional public school system. There were eloquent bigots like J. F. Bryant, the future Minister of Public Works, who during his long career had discovered more than the minimum number of Catholic conspiracies to become paranoid. There were lecturers like J. J. Maloney who toured the province under Klan auspices, electrifying Protestant audiences with their exposés of Catholicism and its nefarious practices. There were Protestant divines such as the Rev. S. P. Rondeau, the French Canadian Presbyterian pastor, who took it upon himself to save the Protestant children of Saskatchewan from Romish influences and convent public schools. There was also a sufficient number of otherwise calm, tolerant citizens who succumbed to a decade of emotional appeals by the Orange Order, the Klan and the Conservative party, who changed their traditional political behavior, and embarked on a righteous crusade to eradicate the menace facing their province. For purposes of convenience and simplicity, the multi-faceted hydra was depicted as the Liberal administration of J. G. Gardiner whose actions and policies were directed by the bishops of Quebec and their minions, the French Canadian parliamentary bloc. As the election of 1929 drew nearer, the patriotic and nativist elements of Saskatchewan stood at Armageddon ready to do battle for God and Country.

FOOTNOTES

[1] J. Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955), p. 4.

[2] J. Higham, "Another look at nativism," *Catholic Historical Review*, XLIV (July, 1958), pp. 149-50.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

[4] R. Linton, "Nativistic Movements," *American Anthropologist*, XLV (April-June, 1943), p. 230.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

[7] J. R. Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade. Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), p. 3.

[8] J. Higham, "Another look at nativism," *op. cit.*, pp. 151-53.

[9] J. R. Gusfield, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[11] J. Higham, "The mind of a nativist. Henry Bowers and the A.P.A.," *American Quarterly*, IV (Spring, 1952), p. 16.

[12] D. B. Davis, "Some themes of counter-subversion. An analysis of anti-Masonic, anti-Catholic, and anti-Mormon literature," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVII (September, 1960), p. 223.

[13] R. Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), p. 31.

[14] D. B. Davies (ed.), *The Fear of Conspiracy. Images of Un-American Subversion from the Revolution to the Present* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), p. 362.

[15] R. Hofstadter, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-31.

[16] D. B. Davies, *The Slave Power Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), p. 4.

[17] C. J. Barry, "Some Roots of American nativism," *Catholic Historical Review*, XLIV (July, 1958), p. 141.

[18] E. R. Norman, *The Conscience of the State in North America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 92.

[19] D. B. Davies, "Some ideological functions of prejudice in anti-bellum America," *American Quarterly*, XV (Summer, 1963), pp. 117-18.

[20] E. R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968), p. 18.

[21] Public Archives of Canada [hereafter cited as PAC], Papers of the Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett [hereafter cited as Bennett Papers], Blanchard to Bennett, September 19, 1930, 381343.

[22] P. Villard, *Up to the Light. The Story of French Protestantism in Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1928), p. 217.

[23] S. Marion, *La Domination Canadienne - Française du Canada Anglais* (n.p., n.d.).

[24] C. E. Amaron, *Your Heritage: or New England Threatened* (Springfield, Mass.: French Protestant College, 1891), p. viii.

[25] R. Sellar, *The Tragedy of Quebec. The Expulsion of its Protestant Farmers* (4th ed.; Toronto: Ontario Press, 1916), p. 223. Sellar was the editor of the Huntingdon *Gleaner* from 1865 until his death in 1919. His anti-French Catholic sentiments were also expressed in pamphlets such as *Disabilities of Protestants in the Province of Quebec* (1890).

[26] P. Villard, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

[28] J. J. Maloney, *Rome in Canada* (Vancouver: Columbia Protestant Publications, n.d.), p. 23.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] PAC, Bennett Papers, Robinson to Bennett, May 18, 1934, 126755.

[31] *Ibid.*, Stillar to Bennett, October 31, 1935, 125345-46.

[32] J. W. Edwards, *The Wedge. An Exhaustive Study of Public and Separate School Legislation in the Province of Ontario* (Toronto: Sentinel Publishing Co., n.d.), pp. 103-04. Dr. Edwards was the Conservative Member of Parliament for Frontenac. From September to December, 1921, he was Minister of Immigration and Colonization and Minister of Health in the Meighen administration.

[33] R. England, *The Central European Immigrant in Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1929), p. 211.

[34] R. Sellar, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

[35] J. W. Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[36] G. N. Emery, "Methodism on the Canadian Prairies, 1896-1914. The Dynamics of an Institution in a new Environment," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of B. C., May, 1970), p. 2, p. 344.

[37] R. Sellar, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

[38] C. E. Amaron, *The Future of Canada. The Extraordinary Privileges of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec* (Ville de St. Paul, Quebec: N. Gélinas, n.d.), p. 14.

[39] R. Sellar, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 349.

[41] J. T. M. Anderson, *The Education of the New-Canadian. A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem* (Toronto: J. M. Dent, 1918), p. 114.

[42] J. W. Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

[43] W. H. G. Armstrong, *Separate Schools. Introduction of the Dual System into Eastern Canada and its subsequent Extension to the West* (Grand Orange Lodge of Saskatchewan, 1918), p. 5.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[49] R. Sellar, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

[50] L. Clark (ed.), *The Manitoba School Question. Majority Rule or Minority Rights?* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1968), p. 6.

[51] PAC, Bennett Papers, White to Bennett, January 29, 1928, 18446.

CHAPTER II

THE TERRITORIAL AND EARLY PROVINCIAL EXPERIENCES

The early legislation enacted for the government and administration of the North-West Territories was so well disposed towards the religious and national aspirations of French Canadians that nativists could very well argue that it was a calculated attempt to establish a second Quebec in the West and an attempt to extend and thus perpetuate the bi-racial settlement of 1867.[1] The North-West Territories Act of 1875, for example, stipulated that a majority of ratepayers in any district could "establish such schools therein as they may think fit, and make the necessary assessment and collection of rates therefor." The minority, whether Catholic or Protestant, was granted the privilege of erecting a separate school and was liable only for the financial support of that school.[2] Two years later, in 1877, an amendment to the North-West Territories Act provided for the use of the French and English languages in the debates of the Legislative Council, and in proceedings before the courts. Both languages were to be used in the records and journals of the Council and territorial ordinances were to be printed in French and English.[3]

Early legislation enacted by the Council to provide for the organization of schools in the Territories was also very favorable to the interests of Catholics in general and French-speaking Catholics in particular. An ordinance in 1884 entrusted school management to a Board of Education comprising a Catholic and Protestant section: each section was responsible for the administration and management of its own schools, the grading and certification of teachers, the selection of textbooks, and the appointment of inspectors.[4] As a further recognition of the denominational nature of the system, school districts were organized along confessional lines and were designated accordingly: Catholic/Protestant Public School District or Catholic/Protestant Separate School District. Any number of resident ratepayers within a public school district or within two or more adjoining public school districts could petition the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council for the establishment of a separate school district. Furthermore, a ratepayer assessed for any property included in a district not of his religious persuasion could elect to pay his taxes to a school district of his own faith. Religious instruction was prohibited during regular school hours but was permitted after 3 p.m. if the school trustees so desired.[5] The school system established in 1884 bore a marked resemblance to the dual system existing in Quebec.

In addition to legislation advantageous to French Catholic aspirations, the West possessed other features which made it admirably suited for extensive French Canadian emigration. To begin with, the settlement of the North-West was in accordance with the religious ideology of the French-speaking clergy who contended that after attachment to the Church, the agrarian life was the surest guarantee of attaining eternal salvation. Since the clergy also considered attachment to the land as an essential requisite for national survival, the western plains were also an excellent milieu in which to preserve and enhance the ancestral heritage of French Canada.

In practice, however, French Canadian attitudes towards the North-West and its settlement were sharply divided. In the province of

Quebec, there was widespread scepticism regarding the agricultural potential of the prairie lands. French Canadians still retained the outdated concepts given them by their missionaries in Red River to the effect that the prairies were synonomous with hardship and desolation.[6] Furthermore, Quebec public opinion refused to accept the concept that the West was a French Canadian patrie. The general consensus was that Quebec alone belonged to French Canadians and that migration to the North-West meant expatriation and eventual assimilation by an English-Protestant majority. D'Alton McCarthy's violent anti-French campaign in 1889 in Manitoba and his subsequent attempts in Parliament to repeal the use of French as an official language in the Territories not only discouraged French Canadian emigration, it also reinforced convictions that migration meant expatriation and assimilation.

The French Catholic hierarchy itself was divided over the issue of western settlement. The metropolitan of the Catholic Church in the West, Archbishop Alexandre Taché, O. M. I., of St-Boniface, made incessant appeals for Quebec colonists and argued that Manitoba and the Territories were ideal regions in which to settle Quebec's surplus population, thereby arresting urbanization and curtailing emigration to the manufacturing centers of New England. Taché and his successor, Archbishop L.-P. Adélard Langevin, O. M. I., sent out missionnaires-colonisateurs to foster French Catholic settlement in the West. These missionary-colonizers had the dual rôle of administering the sacraments to those individuals already settled in their parishes and of attracting new colonists to the area. Unfortunately, the views of the Archbishops of St-Boniface on western settlement were not shared by the Quebec hierarchy which preferred to devote its energies to the settlement of northern Quebec and northern Ontario.

Counselled by their clergy many prospective colonists decided that it was to their advantage to remain in Quebec where they were a majority. At best, the settlement of Manitoba and the North-West would have to wait until all the available agricultural land in Quebec was exploited.[7]

As a result of these factors, the large wave of French Canadian emigration to the West failed to materialize despite the resolute efforts of the St-Boniface clergy. In 1891, for example, the population of the four provisional territorial districts numbered 66,799. Of this number, 13,008 were Catholics and 1,543 were French-speaking.[8] Ten years later, the census depicted even more disconcerting figures insofar as French and Catholic interests were concerned. In 1901, the population of that area which later became the province of Saskatchewan was 91,279 of which 17,828 were Roman Catholic and 2,634 of French origin.[9] The French Canadians were not only a minority in the population at large but also a minority within the Catholic element, a status which presaged grave consequences for the future of their ethnic and religious privileges.

Canadian history has demonstrated that even the most skillfully worded constitutional guarantees at best offered only a precarious security if they were not backed by the strength of numbers. In the absence of a significant Catholic population, the original bifurcated territorial school system became superfluous as the majority of the population opted for non-confessional schools, a system more in keeping with the Anglo-Saxon character and traditions which it was hoped would become the dominant characteristics in the West. Following the frontier tradition of altering institutions to suit particular needs, the territorial Council began to modify the educational system. In 1886, for example, the dual system began to give way with an amendment to the School Ordinance rescinding the confessional appellation of school districts and confining the establishment of a separate school district to that area previously elected by a majority of ratepayers as a public school district. Thus, the boundaries of public and separate schools became coterminous.[10]

In 1892, unification took another step when the bifurcated Board of Education was replaced by a Council of Public Instruction consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor, his executive committee and four appointed members. The latter, two Protestants and two Roman Catholics, had no vote in the proceedings. Directed by the Superintendent of Education, the Council assumed the powers previously exercised by the Board of Education making the administration and management of public and separate schools the prerogative of the state.[11] Ordinance 22 also stipulated that all schools were to be conducted in the English language but trustees could allow the teaching of a "primary course" in the French language. Religious instruction was prohibited during regular school hours but it could be given in the last half-hour prior to the closing of the school if the trustees so desired.[12]

Although Ordinance 22 was severely criticized by Archbishop Taché as a "flagrant and inexplicable" violation of Catholic rights and the abandonment of the Catholic minority to the unjust harassment by the majority, it was never contested in the courts.[13] In 1893, however, Taché forwarded petitions to the Governor-General-in-Council asking that the territorial legislation either be disallowed or amended. When the Committee of the Privy Council declined to rule on the matter, Catholic grievances were presented to the Legislature's Standing Committee on Education in Regina. The outcome was a foregone conclusion and, in its report adopted by the Assembly, the Committee refused to alter the system of inspection, to change the procedure for establishing separate schools, to extend the use of French as a language of instruction, or to eliminate the uniform system of textbooks.[14]

The Council of Public Instruction was in turn superceded by a Department of Education in 1901 as part of a continuing process of centralization. The Department, directed by a Commissioner of Education, was given absolute jurisdiction over the conduct and management of all public and separate schools, normal schools, and schools for the deaf and blind. It was also responsible for issuing regulations controlling the qualifications of teachers, inspection of schools, school libraries, and the selection of textbooks.[15] The Commissioner, a member of the Executive Council, had wide powers, subject only to the advice of the Educational Council consisting of five members, two of which were to be Roman Catholic.[16] Continuing the traditions of the former regime, religious instruction was permitted only in the last half-hour of the school day and French language instruction limited to a "primary course."[17]

Thus, by 1901, the confessional features of the territorial school system had almost disappeared, not because of agitation and pressure by nativists but as a result of the evolutionary transformation of institutions to suit the needs and aspirations of the people they were meant to serve. The majority of the English-speaking population desired state directed non-sectarian education and the system had been altered accordingly. The principle of separate schools had been maintained but its import had been decidedly restrained. The minority in any school district enjoyed the privilege of establishing and supporting a separate school, electing its own trustees, and employing teachers of its religious persuasion. Although the separate school enjoyed the same rights and privileges as the public school, the distinction between the two existed in name only because both systems were subject to identical regulations by the Department of Education. Government grants in aid of education were contingent upon the school district fulfilling the provisions of the School Ordinance and the regulations of the Department and, as events were to prove, this left little room for the confessional or linguistic interests of French Canadians.

The school system, however, was not the only institution that was being adapted to territorial needs. The legal status of the French language in the North-West was also being questioned. This delicate issue had been discussed in the local press prior to D'Alton McCarthy's tour of Manitoba and western Canada in 1889, but it was his attempt to seek the repeal of the official use of the French language in the Territories that brought the matter to a head.[18] In October 1889, a motion calling for the establishment of a special committee to draft a petition requesting Parliament to rescind the bilingual provisions of the North-West Territories Act was introduced in the Legislative Assembly. The subsequent draft petition stated that the use of French was unnecessary, it created unwarranted expenses, and was not favored by the public at large. The debate, however, demonstrated that, under the guise of utilitarian considerations, Anglicization and cultural conformity were significant factors contributing to repeal sentiment.[19] The petition passed by a vote of 17 to 2 and was forwarded to Parliament where McCarthy had introduced a bill to repeal the legislation giving official status to the French language in the Territories. As could be expected, this bill engendered a passionate and prolonged debate which threatened the stability of the federal Liberal and Conservative parties and a compromise measure was passed empowering the Legislative Assembly to regulate its proceedings after the next territorial election. This did not affect the status of the French language before territorial courts or the printing of ordinances in French.[20] An election was held in the Territories in 1891 and, when the new Assembly met the following year, F. W. G. Haultain, member for McLeod, moved that the proceedings of the Assembly, henceforth, be recorded only in English. An amendment to maintain the existing status of the French language was overwhelmingly defeated 24 to 4.

In view of the evolution from a confessional to a separate school system in the Territories and the consensus among English-speaking Canadians favoring non-sectarian public education, it is not surprising that controversy over separate schools erupted in 1905 when legislation was being brought down in Ottawa to establish and provide for the government of the new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. The Autonomy Bills were presented for first reading in the Commons by Prime Minister Laurier on February 21, 1905. The original clause 16 of Bill No. 70 would have continued the principles and traditions of the North-West Territories Act of 1875 because clause 2 stipulated that the majority of ratepayers in any district or portion of the province could "establish such schools therein as they think fit and make the necessary assessment and collection of rates therefor."[21] This privilege was accorded to the minority in any district and there was to be no discrimination between public and separate schools in the distribution of provincial grants in aid of education or of funds accruing from school lands administered by the Dominion government. The proposed legislation had the effect of exempting separate schools from state control and making confessional schools eligible for financial support from the government, a radical departure from the educational system which actually existed in the Territories.

As could be expected, Laurier's school clause received the approbation of the French Catholic clergy. Archbishop Langevin, who exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Catholics in the Territories, enunciated the immutable position of the hierarchy in a circular letter to his clergy:

> Nous avons droit à des écoles séparées et confessionnelles dans les Territoires et nous demandons instamment que ces droits soient reconnus et protégés au moment où l'on organise deux nouvelles provinces.[22]

On the other hand, clause 16 was vigorously denounced by the Orange Lodge, Protestant clergymen and presbyteries, and English-speaking Conservatives who traditionally favored public schools. The issue created a critical division within Liberal ranks when Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior, resigned from the Cabinet and other prominent Liberals such as the Minister of Finance, W. S. Fielding, were contemplating resignation to voice their opposition.

A compromise was eventually reached whereby the minority was accorded the rights and privileges it held by virtue of the territorial Ordinance of 1901, that is, the right to establish separate, non-sectarian schools subject to the regulations of the Department of Education. Forced to abandon his intention of introducing confessional schools into the new provinces, Laurier, nevertheless, was able constitutionally to guarantee the right of establishing and maintaining separate schools by a provision in the Saskatchewan and Alberta Acts stipulating that the term "at the Union" meant 1905.[23] F. W. G. Haultain, the territorial Premier, contended that the term, when applied to the Territories, meant 1870 and not 1905. He reasoned that since no school system existed by law in 1870, the provinces were free to establish any school system they wished.[24]

To prevent this, Laurier incorporated the territorial school legislation, which existed by virtue of the Ordinances of 1901, into the constitutions of the newly created provinces.

The separate school question in turn became the dominant issue in Saskatchewan's first election held on December 13, 1905. Haultain assumed the leadership of the Provincial Rights Party which contended that the province lacked complete autonomy in matters relating to education and the administration of natural resources. He claimed that minority rights were a matter pertaining to the provincial government and he called for an appeal to the courts to test the constitutionality of the Saskatchewan Act. Walter Scott, leader of the provincial Liberals, defended the provisions of the Act on the grounds that the Federal government was morally bound to guarantee minority rights which existed under the territorial School Ordinances.[25]

In the midst of the election campaign Archbishop Langevin, who did not accept the settlement of 1905 because it confirmed the historical spoliation of French Catholic rights in the North-West Territories, issued a memorandum to his clergy recalling certain facts: Haultain had suppressed the Board of Education in 1892 thereby preventing Catholics from controlling their schools; had removed Catholic textbooks from Catholic schools; had refused to appoint a Catholic school inspector despite numerous requests by the bishops; had been unjust and tyrannical toward Catholic teachers coming from other provinces; and had campaigned against the existing system of separate schools. Langevin advised his clergy to make no comments from the pulpit but to inform Catholics privately that it would be neither "reasonable" nor "conscientious" for them to vote for Haultain, "le destructeur systématique des écoles catholiques dans les Territoires."[26]

On November 22, Regina's pro-Conservative journal, the Daily Standard, published the Archbishop's memorandum, charging that it had been read in Catholic churches on October 29. The document was also published in the Saskatchewan Herald and reproduced in broadside by the Provincial Rights Party with the result that it became a sensational issue in the election. Langevin's signature was conveniently appended to the published versions of the memorandum to create the impression that it was in fact a pastoral letter binding upon all Catholics or to make certain that the identity of the author was clearly established even to the most uninformed of readers. For his part, Haultain accused the Liberals of having formed a "compact" with the Catholic Church and he ultimately declared himself in favor of a non-sectarian school system.[27] On the other hand, Langevin denied having issued a pastoral letter directed against Haultain or having made a secret "compact" with Scott. The Archbishop stated that he had issued only an unsigned memorandum specifying the grievances of Catholics against Haultain. Unlike a pastoral letter, the memorandum was not an "authoritative instruction" and it had not been read from the pulpit.[28]

Since Scott could not deny the existence of the memorandum, the Liberals were placed in an embarrassing situation and this gave the Provincial Rights Party a decided political advantage. Haultain, however, did not capitalize on this opportunity and chose to stress the issue of a conspiracy between the Liberal party and the Catholic Church, which was difficult to prove, rather than the contents of the memorandum which could have generated more than sufficient embarrassment for the Liberals. Partly as a result of this "tactical blunder," the Liberals were able to win sixteen of the twenty-five seats in the Legislature. The population of the nine constituencies won by the Provincial Rights Party was predominantly Protestant while the Liberals took all seven constituencies in which Catholics and persons of foreign origin were a majority. The Liberals won twelve of the thirteen seats in the relatively newly settled areas north of the Canadian Pacific Railway main line but were successful in winning only four of the twelve constituencies in the older settled districts south of that line.[29]

This voting pattern remained unchanged in the next twenty-five years. The Provincial Rights Party and its successor, the Conservative party, tended to appeal to the nativist element within the Anglo-Saxon population. The Liberals, on the other hand, were supported by Roman Catholics, French Canadians, those of European origin, and the more liberally-minded among the English-speaking element. The political platforms relating to educational matters adopted in Saskatchewan's first election remained virtually the same for the next quarter of a century. The Liberals supported the maintenance of separate schools and favored the granting of minor concessions to the non-English with respect to French language instruction and the teaching of foreign languages in schools. The Conservatives maintained that in order to forge national unity, Saskatchewan's future citizens should learn English only in non-denominational, national schools.

After the election of 1905, the school question lay dormant for several years as the attention of politicians and others focused on other issues. Education, however, had been and continued to be, a particular problem for non-Anglo-Saxon minorities, especially French Catholics, and, hence, the political ramifications of the school question were never far away from the actual problems of the French in attempting to maintain and enhance French language instruction for their children. In the background of the difficulties encountered by the French and other ethnic groups in attempting to provide language instruction for their children and preserve their cultural heritage, lay the latent hostility of an incalculable but certainly large portion of the province's population. This hostility could easily be cultivated and guided along the path of a righteous, patriotic crusade for cultural conformity by nativists. It was as a result of this animosity, politically latent in the years following 1905, that the controversy over education and its implications for national homogeneity, again began to cloud the political horizon in Saskatchewan and assumed major porportions in the election of 1917.

Ironically, the genesis of the controversy which reappeared in 1913 had nothing to do with nativist pressures but rather with financial ones. Once raised, however, it did not long remain at that level. Prior to Judge McLorg's dismissal of an appeal against a Court of Revision decision concerning the assessment of separate school supporters in September 1911, it had been held that members of a separate school district were legally responsible for supporting that school despite an ambiguity in the School Act to this effect.[30] In upholding the lower court's decision against an appeal from the Town of Vonda, McLorg ruled that each ratepayer exercised the option of supporting either the public or separate school.[31] McLorg's decision not only had serious implications for the financial status of separate schools but it could also jeopardize the assessment which should have accrued to separate and public schools in cases where one district had a lower rate of assessment than the other. To prevent this possibility, Premier Scott introduced an amendment to the School Act making it mandatory for the ratepayer of the religious minority to support the separate school.[32] Another amendment modifed the provisions of the School Assessment Act pertaining to the manner in which corporate property was to be assessed for public or separate school purposes.[33]

The Reverend Murdock MacKinnon, a prominent Protestant clergyman and pastor of Knox Presbyterian Church, was extremely critical of the amendment on the grounds that it deprived "intelligent Roman Catholics" of the "right" to send their children to the public school and to support that school.[34] Furthermore, he regarded the amendment to the School Assessment Act as a "lever" to force companies to support separate schools, thereby making it "convenient and legal" to divert public school support to separate schools.[35] The fact that no Catholic had complained against the compulsive features of the legislation did not deter Knox's pastor from making strong allegations of coercion. MacKinnon was far from satisfied with Scott's explanations and after the legislation had been assented to, he advised the Premier that he would discuss the issue from his pulpit.[36]

On May 24, 1914, MacKinnon made good his promise to comment on the school question. His sermon was delivered on the eve of the convention of the Grand Orange Lodges of America meeting in Regina and many Orangemen undoubtedly heard him gladly. Calling the separate school issue an ugly question, MacKinnon said that it could not be evaded because a moral obligation had to be discharged. The people were waiting for someone to protest and "duty, stern daughter of the voice of God," had called upon him to speak. He argued that the amendments were designed to whip Catholics "into line" and place the public school at a disadvantage. He went on to affirm that it was the duty of government to unite rather than segregate the people and he declared that the separate school, which the government had undertaken to foster, was the greatest enemy of the "unifying" movement. MacKinnon concluded his sermon by calling upon all lovers of "freedom, justice and fair play" to smite hard against legislation which was an insurmountable obstacle to the attainment of unity.[37]

The political ramifications of this discussion became only too evident in a speech delivered by the Conservative leader, W. B. Willoughby, in which he warned the Catholic Church to get out of politics in Saskatchewan. He declared that in the 1912 provincial elections, the Church was solidly against his party and that no denomination should be united in favor of one party. He implied that the Scott government had promised concessions to the Church before and after the election.[38]

In the meantime, the allegations concerning sectarian influences in schools that would become recurring themes in the next decade were being voiced for the first time. The Reverend R. T. Lawson, a Methodist minister at Carlyle, complained that crucifixes had been introduced into the public school at Forget and that Catholic nuns were placed in charge of the school. These teachers were wearing the costume of their order during school hours, they were not observing departmental regulations and, furthermore, he charged that the sisters were bringing influence to bear on Protestant children.[39] The Master of the Orange Lodge in Willow Bunch complained that the public school in that village was being conducted "in a convent under the control of French nuns." He stated that the School Act was a disgrace to the Liberal party and expressed the Lodge's determination that the Willow Bunch public school "should be kept in its proper place."[40]

A new dimension to the separate school controversy was added a year later, in May 1915, when Scott proposed an amendment to the language clause of the School Act. Previous to this proposed amendment, the cost of employing a "competent person," who was not the teacher normally in charge of the school, to provide foreign language instruction in accordance with departmental regulations, was borne by a special levy on the parents of those pupils who took advantage of such instruction.[41] Scott's amendment was an attempt to provide proper support for foreign language instruction by stipulating that if the regular teacher were competent to provide such instruction, the imposition of a special rate would not be necessary.[42] The legislation was innocuous but the Evening Province and Standard, nevertheless, declared that it was as dangerous as giving open recognition to the French, German, and Galician languages: the non-English majority in any school district could escape the extra cost of foreign language instruction by engaging a teacher of their own nationality and, hence, "competent" under the terms of the proposed legislation. The journal went on to predict that, as a result of this "deliberate" and "dastardly" attack on the public school system, Ontario's problems and more would rain down on Saskatchewan.[43] Not content with describing the legislation as "a wedge for bilingualism," the Evening Province went further and described the amendment as the "joker," claiming that its three lines had been concealed in the 977 other lines of the Consolidated School Act.[44]

During debate on the bill Willoughby stated that the public schools should not become a medium for teaching foreign languages and he asked that the clause be withdrawn because it introduced bilingualism into the schools. He argued that there was no necessity whatever for teaching any foreign language in the primary schools. The Premier replied that it was ridiculous for anyone to suspect or link the government to a policy of bilingualism because of this proviso. Rather than have this suspicion spread, Scott moved that the clause be withdrawn and the Legislature unanimously concurred. The Evening Province, however, hinted that the Premier's real reason for withdrawing the "joker" was that thirteen government members in a caucus meeting were opposed to it and demanded that it be eliminated. Despite cajolery and threats, the 'noble' thirteen stood their ground and forced Scott to repeal the proviso. The journal prided itself on having been instrumental in eliminating bilingualism from the public school system, "the melting pot from which the second generation may emerge Canadian to the core."[45]

In view of the controversy surrounding education, Premier Scott, on June 22, 1915, announced in the Legislature that the time had come to overhaul the educational system and adapt it to present conditions. He asked all members of the Assembly to co-operate in a non-partisan campaign to stir public opinion on the rural school question and to suggest an objective policy of educational reform. Three months after the Premier's appeal for an awakening of public opinion, an open organizing convention was held in Regina which resulted in the creation of the Saskatchewan Public Education League. The most important address presented at this convention was that of the Reverend E. H. Oliver, Principal of Saskatoon's Presbyterian College, a prominent clergyman and educationist who was keenly interested in the problems and education of "New Canadians." Oliver felt that a multiplicity of schools, based on religious or linguistic lines, could not promote the broad consensus which Canadian society needed to work from. He nevertheless maintained that the "New Canadians" had a valuable contribution to make to the formation of the Canadian character, a character which was neither simply Protestant nor simply English, although the English language had to be the basis, British political institutions and laws the foundation, and Protestantism the dominant denomination.[46]

Oliver's address to the organizing convention did not deal with the whole problem of rural education but with the highly charged issue of country schools in non-English communities, a matter on which he had just completed an independent survey. He concluded that the language question was the greatest obstacle to educational reform and it had to be settled immediately before Saskatchewan became another "polyglot Austria."[47] He reported that in Ruthenian, Doukhobor, German and Mennonite districts there was evidence of private schools, unorganized school districts, and instruction in languages other than English. French school districts escaped neither his scrutiny nor his criticism. Citing the St-Denis school, Oliver alleged that the French language was being used exclusively in the first two grades and English was being taught only in the morning when there were scarcely any pupils present.[48]

Oliver did not believe that the French language enjoyed a special status in Saskatchewan. He maintained that there was no historical past for the French language in Saskatchewan and, obviously better versed in theology than history, he stated that French had never been an official language in the Territories. He argued that French occupied the same status as the Cree language and that a stronger case could be made for the latter. According to Oliver, the solution to educational problems lay not in granting concessions but in the adoption and enforcement of strict, uniform regulations concerning the teaching of all languages other than English. The hope that a non-partisan movement could have suggested an objective policy of education reform faded with Oliver's appeal for an end to linguistic concessions for "the good of the future Canadian citizenship of this Province."[49]

In the meantime, the school controversy gained momentum with each succeeding month. On December 15, 1915, MacKinnon again contributed to the polemic with a 100 minute Christmas message delivered before a packed audience which included Premier Scott. MacKinnon charged that the clerical school, which had been "blasted" out of Europe, had found fertile soil in Saskatchewan as a result of the School Act amendments and that it was perpetuating "non-Anglo-Saxon ideals and features." Furthermore, lay teachers had been forced out of separate schools and replaced with clerical teachers and, in some instances, women in clerical garb were teaching in public schools. According to Knox's pastor, the person responsible for this sad state of affairs was Archbishop Langevin who had treated with Scott to obtain favorable concessions for Catholics. He went on to accuse the French, Poles, Germans and Ruthenians of using the schools to foster their own sectarian ends and he maintained that the Premier had used the power of the Legislature to assist these groups in discriminating against that "great unifying agency," the public school. MacKinnon declared that it was the government's duty to foster assimilation by eliminating sectarian ideals and racial segregation; it was "a lapse into the atmosphere of pagan salvery" to compel a ratepayer to support the separate school.[50]

The Scott-MacKinnon controversy became public domain in January 1916, as a result of a series of open letters which both men addressed to the Regina press. This lengthy polemic stimulated other interested parties and educational 'authorities' such as "Twilight," "Libertas," and "Daylight" to present their views in letters to the editor. On January 26, 1916, MacKinnon preached on "The Crime of Coercion," third and last of his tedious pontifications on the separate school issue. He maintained that Scott's amendments had been a betrayal of the sacred legacy of freedom handed down by generations past because civil liberties had been made subservient to ecclesiastical domination, freedom and justice had been subordinated to sectarian designs.[51] The controversy reached its climax on February 24, when Scott announced before the Legislature and a packed gallery, in which MacKinnon and other prominent clergymen were present, that the School Act proviso would be repealed. The Premier stated that it was no longer required because the decisions of two higher court judges in Saskatchewan prior to McLorg's had upheld the original intention of the law.[52] The validity of the original act and, for that matter, Scott's proviso, was upheld later by the Imperial Privy Council which ruled in the famous Bartz case that the minority was compelled to support its separate schools.

On purely legal grounds Premier Scott could regard the matter as closed but, in reality, the controversy had hardly begun because many disciples were emerging to continue and elaborate upon the arguments which MacKinnon had first raised in 1913. What had begun in that year as an objection against legislation affecting the financial status of separate schools had, by the following year, shifted to an attack on the separate school system per se and, by late 1915, transformed itself into an assult against the teaching of languages other than English. In the heightened agitation that inevitably accompanied this transition, the climate of opinion engendered by the war made it very difficult for many normally liberally-minded English-speaking Canadians to display a sense of toleration toward French Canadians and non-Anglo-Saxon minorities or to sympathize with their desires to preserve their cultural heritages.

Traditionally susceptible to nativist undercurrents, the Conservative party was quick to trim its sails to capitalize on the patriotic backlash resulting from the war effort. The first step took place in January 1916, when Willoughby declared, before the annual meeting of the Provincial Conservative Association in Saskatoon, that the Liberals were responsible for the controversy surrounding separate schools because the Conservatives had regarded the matter as closed since 1905. He went on to state that his party would repeal the School Act amendments when it formed the next government. Referring to Scott's 'attempt' to introduce bilingualism by means of the 1915 amendment, the Conservative leader declared that English should be the only language of instruction in public schools. Two hundred delegates cheered themselves hoarse upon hearing this electrifying pronouncement.[53] While the Conservatives were applauding, members of the Grand Orange Lodge met with Premier Scott and informed him that the order would support the political party which favored the abolition of separate schools. The Lodge also felt that the teaching of French should not enjoy a special status and that foreign languages should not be taught in the primary grades. To counter any hesitation on the part of Scott and his government, the officials cited a learned legal opinion by three eminent Ontario lawyers to the effect that the provincial government could in fact abolish separate schools and privileges accorded to minorities in 1905.[54]

With each passing month the issue gained momentum as it came to the attention of different organizations. In February, a resolution requesting that every child be taught in the English language was passed at the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' convention.[55] In March, a resolution calling for an amendment to the School Act prohibiting the teaching of foreign languages in the first five grades was passed at the annual convention of the Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association (S.S.T.A.). The resolution was opposed by some 150 non-English delegates who withdrew from the proceedings and signed a petition asking that a new vote be taken and that the resolution be translated into French, Ruthenian, Polish and German. When presented, this request was greeted by cries of "No" from all corners of the room.[56] Interviewed after the convention, A. J. Sparling, Chairman of the Saskatoon Public School Board, charged that some of the trustees could not comprehend the discussions because they had been conducted in English. He considered it scandalous that foreigners should ask British trustees in a British country to translate resolutions into four languages and that foreign representatives be allowed to lead the discussions. He urged trustees to organize and fight these people "as our sons and brothers were fighting them on the continent of Europe."[57]

In March 1916, the language question was also brought before the annual meeting of the Saskatchewan Association of Rural Municipalities. A resolution asking the association to endorse the demands of the Grain Growers' and Trustees' for English only in public schools was carried with little discussion and with an overwhelming majority.[58] As a result of June 30 having been proclaimed "Better Schools Day" in an attempt to encourage public discussion on educational reform, the Public Education League urged all school boards to organize gatherings. Sixty-five meetings were held in Saskatchewan centers and, of the resolutions passed at these meetings, thirteen called for the exclusive use of English in schools.[59]

By 1917 the publicity and agitation surrounding the teaching of foreign languages had not abated. The matter was again taken up by the annual convention of the S.S.T.A. when a resolution was introduced requesting that the Department of Education institute a uniform system of English language readers to replace the existing French, German and Catholic readers. This resolution was introduced by A. J. Sparling who declared that he could not stand to see his sons fighting for British institutions while foreigners were perpetuating their national languages in Saskatchewan schools. P. M. Friesen of Rush Lake stated that the matter pertained to the Department and moved that the motion be tabled. J. F. Bryant, retiring president of the association, said that free speech should not be throttled and asked those who desired further discussion to vote against tabling the motion. Sparling's resolution was tabled by the narrow majority of 330 - 321. Bryant displayed the first symptoms of the paranoid style when he hinted that his defeat for the position of second vice-president by an almost identical majority was due to the foreign elements who had gained control of the assembly.[60]

In June, the language question came before the Methodist Conference of Saskatchewan which passed a resolution urging the government to enforce fully the provisions of the School Act regarding the teaching of English in public schools. Reverend M. Bennett of Swift Current provoked a heated debate when he claimed that hundreds of children were not getting "one bit" of instruction in English. Under these circumstances, people could not become British subjects or Canadian citizens, and Bennett equaled this state of affairs as tantamount to Prussianism.[61]

Against this background, the language question could not fail to become a dominant issue in the 1917 election. Longing for power after twelve years in the wilderness, the Conservatives were prepared to use any issue that could lead them to political power. That party not only broke its pledge to keep education out of politics but it also threw caution to the winds and campaigned on a nativist platform that reflected war time emotions. Full page advertisements like the one in the June 16 issue of the Daily Post castigated the government's educational policy and advocated a patriotic solution: "Vote for the Opposition Candidate and Banish the Monster of Poly-lingualism from Saskatchewan Forever." Conservative rallies heard the same call, embellished with J. F. Bryant's charges that government members had been driven from English-speaking constituencies and had to take refuge behind "second line trenches," manned by the same foreign elements who had dominated the recent Trustees' convention.[62] For its part, the Orange Lodge submitted a questionnaire to candidates asking whether they were in favor of non-sectarian public schools; abolishing bilingual teaching; repealing the religious qualifications for members of the Educational Council; and the enactment of a law requiring that all trustees be able to read and write English. If the candidate answered all questions affirmatively, the Lodge regarded him as a "suitable person" to represent the constituency.[63] Needless to say, few Liberal candidates were ever accorded this Orange accolade.

Despite the tumult over the school and language questions, the Conservative effort failed to convince the electorate and the Liberals increased their majority from forty-five to fifty-one members. Be that as it may, the results of the June 26 election could not be regarded as a referendum on the educational question. There was within the Anglo-Protestant population a zealous nativist segment which was not satisfied with the verdict and who, like the Reverend M. MacKinnon, would not let the matter rest until satisfaction had been obtained. The day following the election, the Daily Post had already informed W. M. Martin, who had succeeded Scott as Premier in October 1916, that the people were looking to him to make English the sole language of instruction "by whatever means are found possible and most expeditious."

Delicate subjects under any circumstances, the school and language polemics came to Saskatchewan at a time when they would inevitably be heightened by incidents which were taking place outside the province. The events of World War I had serious repercussions on Saskatchewan's European minorities but the conscription crisis in Quebec rendered the French-speaking minority even more vulnerable to censure. It was an era when everyone "saw red" and ascribed the sins of fathers to their sons. It was also a period when appeals to passion and patriotism overruled rationality in an effort to ensure that Quebec, and all it stood for in the Anglo-Saxon mind, would not be reproduced or perpetuated in a British province. Thus, French-speaking Canadians, determined to preserve their cultural traditions, were easily singled out as fifth columnists striving to prevent the true Canadian character from emerging in Saskatchewan.

By 1918, the cry "English only in schools," had become a panacea for all of Saskatchewan's ills. The principle of English only became much more than simply a problem affecting education as nativists argued that the maintenance of democracy, the Empire, and the Canadian nation all necessitated that English be the only language of instruction in schools. In its editorial of January 9, the independent Saskatoon Daily Star stated that if English were not the only language of instruction, it would be impossible to build the Canadian nation or make the privileges of Canadianism "clear and compelling" to all. The language question in turn aroused a great deal of discussion at the Grain Growers' convention in February. Reverend J. G. Shearer, honorary secretary of the Dominion Social Service Congress, received a tumultuous ovation when he declared: "For the future of our country, English as the one language in our schools is the essential principle of our great democracy."[64] The convention went on to pass a resolution calling for the exclusive use of the English language and English readers in elementary schools.[65]

This attitude was an indication of what was to happen on a larger scale one week later, February 20-21, at the School Trustees' convention in Saskatoon. Rumors were circulated in the press that "alien trustees" were planning a surprise and would register en masse on the last day in an attempt to control the assembly. Replying to charges that English-speaking trustees were waging a nativist campaign, the Reverend S. P. Rondeau, who later became a prominent spokesman for the Ku Klux Klan, stated that the racial campaign was being "forced" upon the English as a result of a movement to dominate Canada and make it French by undermining the public school system and the "assimilative power" of the English language. Rondeau countered requests for bilingualism and separate schools with a "sane" educational policy consisting of:

> One common public system and one regnant language, the English language, which has ever proclaimed equal rights to all and special privileges to none.[67]

An estimated 3,000 delegates attended the Trustees' convention and the nativist elements were plainly in control of the February 21 sessions. President P. M. Friesen, himself, was not present because of the hostile reception accorded him the previous day and, in the ensuing election, not one man with a foreign name was nominated for a high executive position.[68]

The most tumultuous session of the convention, however, followed the presentation of resolutions requesting that all trustees be British subjects, able to read and write English, that no other language other than English be used as a language of instruction, and that no language but English be taught during school hours. Speaking to the resolution calling for English as the only language of instruction, president-elect

Bryant declared that it was necessary to forge the cosmopolitan population into a unified whole. The audience laughed when Dr. J. M. Uhrich of Hague stated that knowledge of another language did not affect one's loyalty and urged the audience to act as Canadians and find a common ground. The delegates again burst into laughter when a French war veteran, Father J. Libert, asked that the resolution be tabled in the name of Belgium and France. On the other hand, another delegate spoke enthusiastically in favor of English only and was accorded a loud applause.[69] Emile Gravel of Gravelbourg asked the assembly if it would not make a distinction between the teaching of French and the teaching of foreign languages. From all corners came cries of "No," "No difference."[70] The original resolution calling for English as the only language of instruction was carried almost unanimously "to the accompaniment of loud cheering and sustained applause."[71] The Empire had been saved by the actions of patriotic school trustees in Saskatchewan.

The Trustees' convention acted as a catalyst of an already seething issue. In March 1918, the Grand Orange Lodge re-affirmed its opposition to separate schools and urged the government to prohibit the use of foreign languages in schools.[72] While the sentiments of the Lodge were to be expected, the resolutions of the S.S.T.A. were fortified by the support of the Saskatchewan Association of Rural Municipalities, one of the most influential and representative bodies in the Province.[73] In turn, the Baptist Conference and the Anglican Synod of Saskatchewan requested that English be the sole language of instruction.[74] In September, the Joint Legislation Committee of the Sons of England and the Orange Lodge in Saskatoon sent out thousands of circulars urging the public to demand a "satisfactory settlement" to the language question.[75] The agitation, which was now province-wide, was producing tangible results. In November and December, Martin's office was buried under an avalanche of petitions requesting the termination of foreign language instruction in schools.[76]

As Premier and Minister of Education, Martin was aware that a solution would have to be found for the troublesome language question and early in 1918 he had already consulted with officials of the Department of Education.[77] In August, three months before his office was innundated with petitions to terminate the teaching of foreign languages, the Premier had already drafted an amendment to the language clause of the School Act. All schools were to be taught in the English language and no other language could be used during school hours but, upon a resolution from the local school board, French could be taught as a subject of study for one hour a day.[78] Under this proposed amendment English, henceforth, would be the only language of instruction.

Shortly after the opening of the legislative session, Martin informed his cabinet of the draft amendment and it became apparent that there was much cabinet uneasiness over the matter. The Premier's decision to abolish the primary course was one important cause of the resignation of W. R. Motherwell, the Minister of Agriculture. To Motherwell, who aspired to federal politics and who was dissatisfied with Martin's stand on Union Government, the language question became the "last straw" which prompted his resignation. Motherwell claimed that he could not support legislation which would leave fewer rights to the French than "rabid mad" Ontario had allowed with Regulation 17.[79]

Both as a politician and as a French Canadian, Attorney-General W. F. A. Turgeon had many misgivings as to the wisdom of the proposed legislation and, on December 16, 1918, apparently convinced that Martin would not alter his amendment, the Attorney-General informed Archbishop O.-E. Mathieu of his intention to resign from the cabinet. Mathieu replied that, in the circumstances, Turgeon's resignation would be a calamity and he implored him to remain at his post at any cost, even if this meant the suppression of the primary course.[80] Turgeon followed Mathieu's advice and remained in the cabinet but he, nevertheless, regretted Martin's performance over the language question.

As a result of this cabinet opposition, Martin was forced to alter his amendment and these changes were incorporated into Bill No. 31, an Act to amend the School Act, introduced by the Premier on December 17. The difference between chapter 23, section 177, 1915, and the amended version was that the latter abrogated the provisions permitting instruction in languages other than English between the hours of three and four in the afternoon. English, henceforth, would be the sole language used during school hours with the exception of French which could be used as a language of instruction in the first grade, and which could be taught as a subject of study for one hour a day in subsequent grades.

This concession did not meet with the approval of the independent but decidedly nativist Regina Daily Post and Saskatoon Daily Star who maintained that Saskatchewan's "salvation" lay in the establishment of one language — English — in the schools.[81] From Calgary, the Reverend M. MacKinnon, serving as chaplain in Military District No. 13, condemned the amendment for not going far enough: "French must go, Quebec failed us during the war ... Favoritism and compromise today means contention and endless strife tomorrow."[82] The Grand Master of the Orange Order supported MacKinnon's stand and urged that French be banned from public schools because the French spoken in Canada "was not French anyway." He argued that the perpetuation of the "habitant dialect" would hinder progress and be "a continual thorn in the flesh."[83]

In the Assembly, the debate over the language question became even more tempestuous. On December 18, Martin moved second reading to Bill No. 31 in a two hour speech in which he justified the exception made for the French language on the grounds of the historical rights of the French people in Canada. His staunch critic, the Daily Post, referred to this address as "the finest ever delivered by the leader of the government." Motherwell, Minister of Highways S. J. Latta, and Provincial Treasurer C. A. Dunning also presented moving addresses on behalf of the privileges accorded to the French language.[84] Donald MacLean, who became Leader of the Opposition after Willoughby had been appointed to the Senate in October, 1917, stated that the Conservative party was not going to make political capital over the school issue but he maintained, nevertheless, that the schools must serve as a means of unifying the people of the province into one "harmonious whole." He claimed that the present bill was merely a compromise and moved an amendment to make English the only language of instruction in elementary schools.[85] This motion was overwhelmingly defeated. Undeterred, the Conservative leader again unsuccessfully moved an amendment to make English the only language of instruction during Committee of the Whole.[86] When the Legislature reconvened on January 8, 1919, MacLean reiterated his opposition to the amendments because of the privileges accorded to the French language. He claimed that on purely legal grounds, the French had no stronger rights than any other non-English group outside the province of Quebec and, that in Saskatchewan, there was no pedagogical argument, no "sane argument" in favor of compromise on the language question. A Conservative motion to again refer the bill to Committee of the Whole was defeated 42 to 7 and the bill was passed on third reading.[87]

While French Canadians in Saskatchewan expressed concern at the publicity and agitation over the school and language questions, they, nevertheless, refrained from adopting the boisterous tactics of nativists and patriotic associations during this trying period. The national-religious association representing French-speaking Catholics, l'Association Catholique Franco-Canadienne (A.C.F.C.), and its official organ, Le Patriote de l'Ouest, undertook a publicity campaign designed to make French Canadians better known and understood in English-speaking centers.[88] The A.C.F.C. felt that the English-French conflict was due to the remoteness of each group from the other, resulting in mutual distrust and misunderstanding. If public opinion were enlightened and prejudices eliminated, it was felt that it would be easier for French Catholics to obtain full justice from the English-speaking majority. To inaugurate its campaign of enlightenment, the association published Mathieu's address, "Education in the Province of Quebec," previously delivered before the Canadian Club in Regina.[89] In dealing with educational rights accorded to Quebec's English Protestant minority, the Archbishop's address defined the reciprocal rights desired by French-speaking minorities outside Quebec.

The lack of provocation on the part of French Catholics was due largely to the influence of Mathieu who believed that the interests of harmony could best be served by avoiding all declarations which could further arouse passions. The Archbishop was a man who preferred diplomacy and tact and elected to work behind the scenes. In addition to making French Canadian views known to Martin and his ministers, Mathieu attempted to dispel passion and fanaticism by writing a series of articles in

Le Patriote. Cardinal L.-N. Bégin of Quebec congratualted Mathieu on the tenor of these articles and stated that if his knowledge of English were better he would translate the articles and distribute them across the country, especially among the Boches of Ontario.[90] For its part, the A.C.F.C. translated and published the more important articles in pamphlet form and distributed them to members of the Assembly and other influential citizens.

Despite the fanaticism and passion aroused by nativists in the period 1917-18, the A.C.F.C. and Le Patriote still felt confident that the members of the Assembly would be honor bound to safeguard the constitutional guarantees accorded to the French language. The journal's editor, Donatien Frémont, naively believed that, on the eve of the peace conference in Versailles, there could be no talk of opposing the French and English in Saskatchewan.[91] The A.C.F.C. believed that the best means of countering the nativist agitation for cultural conformity and unilingualism was to carry the arguments in favor of the French language to the public at large and convince the people that the French language enjoyed a special status throughout Canada.[92] It was a valiant but futile attempt considering the circumstances, to convince Saskatchewan's English-speaking majority that it should accord to the French minority the same educational privileges exercised by Quebec's Anglo-Saxon minority.

While the privileges accorded to the French language as a result of the School Act amendment provided less than the French Canadians might have hoped, they were, nevertheless, more than their worst fears suggested. The primary course had been restricted to one year of French language instruction instead of the customary two, but French was now recognized as a subject of study for one hour in each school day. Moreover, the half-hour of religious instruction could be given in French. Father A. F. Auclair, O. M. I., director of Le Patriote, regarded the exception made for the French language as a step toward the eventual recognition of the equality of French and English. He interpreted the legislative addresses on behalf of French as evidence that the Anglo-Saxon mentality had undergone a significant change for the better and that this should be a source of comfort for French Canadians.[93]

Be that as it may, Frémont's naiveté and Auclair's optimism should not obscure the fact that the element of victory, if any, came only through the sufferance of the political majority. French Catholics were a small minority and their geographical distribution tended to accentuate this status. Dispersed as they were throughout the province, with their greatest concentration in the north and south, the French-speaking groups did not form a solid bloc in one particular region. The French constituted a majority in some towns and villages but these centers were surrounded by a population that was neither French nor Catholic. Since they were neither a strong political force nor an influential pressure group, the French could not hope to obtain more substantial concessions even from a well-disposed Liberal government in Regina.

Sympathetic as the Liberals might be towards the non-Anglo-Saxon population, they were not about to disregard totally general public opinion on issues as politically volatile as schools and language. The Liberals were prepared to grant the minimum of concessions that would be tolerated by the electorate at large. They were as fully cognisant of the necessity of English as the dominant language of communication and the superiority of British institutions as were their opponents, the Conservatives. The two parties, however, differed significantly on the methods to be used to attain these ends. The presence of Catholics and non-Anglo-Saxon elements caused no dilemmas for the Liberals who believed that assimilation would come about naturally through an evolutionary process. In the meantime, minor linguistic concessions in schools would make the process of adaptation less abrupt and severe and if the non-English responded by voting Liberal, so much the better. Ironically, the Conservatives seemed to place little faith in the ability of the institutions they praised so highly to assimilate the foreign-born and, hence, they opted for coercive assimilation through compulsory English language instruction in non-sectarian schools. If the Conservatives had any political astuteness or adroitness in dealing with non-Anglo-Saxons, it was submerged under menacing waves of nativist sentiment. This attitude won the support of the zealous Anglo-Protestant element, a minority which would have voted Conservative in any event, but it alienated a larger segment of the population whose support was needed not only to obtain political power, but to provide the broad basis of consensus so necessary to a successful political party. As a result of their inflexible platform, bigoted candidates and speakers, the unreserved support of patriotic institutions such as the Orange order, and bungling of crucial issues, the Conservatives remained in the political wilderness and, in many Conservative minds, this state of affairs created the illusion of a Liberal party subservient to Catholic and foreign interests.

The proponents of unilingualism had been defeated in 1917 because public opinion had been divided on the issue. The following year, however, sufficient pressure had been brought to bear on the government to abolish the teaching of foreign languages and to limit French language instruction to one year. Unfortunately, the compromise of 1918 did not satisfy the demands of those who sought to impose cultural conformity on Saskatchewan's population. The school question, the language issue, the foreign menace to British institutions, and the Quebec conspiracy to force bilingualism on the nation, were all carried over into the turbulent, intolerant decade of the twenties where they excited emotions, inflamed passions, and provided fertile ground for one of the most overt forms of nativist and patriotic sentiment, the Invisible Empire of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The concept of a "solemn commitment" to a bicultural West has been severely criticized by D. G. Creighton who argues that the institutions which were provided for western Canada did not result from a long-range plan but through "accident and improvisation." D. G. Creighton, "Macdonald, Confederation, and the West," in *Towards the Discovery of Canada. Selected Essays* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1972), p. 240.

[2] *Statutes of Canada*, 38th Vict., ch. 49, sec. 11.

[3] *Ibid.*, 40th Vict., ch. 7, sec. 11.

[4] *Ordinances of the North-West Territories* [hereafter cited as *Ordinances*], No. 5 of 1884, sec. 5.

[5] *Ibid.*, secs. 10, 25, 119 and 84.

[6] A. I. Silver, "French Canadian Attitudes Toward the North-West and North-Western Settlement 1870-90" (unpublished M. A. thesis, McGill University, 1966), pp. 123-33.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 194.

[8] *Census of Canada*, 1891, Vol. I, Table II, p. 112; Table III, p. 221; Table IV, p. 328.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1931, Vol. I, Table 35, p. 718; chap. IX, p. 240.

[10] *Ordinances*, No. 10 of 1886, secs. 4 and 12.

[11] *Ibid.*, No. 22 of 1892, secs. 5 and 9.

[12] *Ibid.*, secs. 83 and 84.

[13] J. P. A. Benoit, *Vie de Mgr Taché Archévêque de St-Boniface* (Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1904), Vol. II, p. 820.

[14] *Journals of the Legislative Assenbly of the North-West Territories*, 1892-94, pp. 120-30.

[15] *Ordinances*, 1901, ch. 29, secs. 3 and 6. F. W. G. Haultain became the first Commissioner of Education.

[16] *Ibid.*, secs. 7, 8, 10 and 11.

[17] *Ibid.*, secs. 135 and 136.

[18] L. H. Thomas, The Struggle for Responsible Government in the North-West Territories, 1890-97 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), p. 185.

[19] K. A. McLeod, "The Status of the French Language in the North-West Territories 1870-1905, and in the Province of Saskatchewan, 1905-34" (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, September 1966), pp. 57-59.

[20] L. H. Thomas, op. cit., p. 185.

[21] Clause 16 of Bill No. 70, cited in C. C. Lingard, Territorial Government in Canada. The Autonomy Question in the Old North-West Territories (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946), pp. 159-69. See also H. B. Neatby, Laurier and a Liberal Quebec. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973), Chap. IX, "The Autonomy Bills."

[22] Les Choches de St-Boniface, IV (1 mai 1905), Supplément, pp. X-XI.

[23] Statutes of Canada, 4-5 Ed. VII, ch. 42, sec. 17, sub. sec. 3.

[24] C. C. Lingard, op. cit., pp. 175-76. See also E. Eager, "Separate Schools and the Cabinet Crisis of 1905," The Lakehead University Review, II (Fall, 1969), pp. 109-11.

[25] D. H. Bocking, "Saskatchewan's First Provincial Election," Saskatchewan History, XVII (Spring, 1964) pp. 42-43.

[26] Les Choches de St-Boniface, IV (15 déc. 1905), p. 312.

[27] D. H. Bocking, op. cit., p. 47. In an address to Pincher Creek constituents in 1891, however, Haultain already had declared his opposition to separate schools and his intention to work and vote against them "as hard as he could." MacLeod Gazette, Feb. 21, 1891. The author is indebted to Professor L. H. Thomas for this reference.

[28] Leader, Dec. 19, 1905.

[29] D. H. Bocking, op. cit., pp. 50-52.

[30] Revised Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1909, ch. 100, sec. 45, sub. sec. 2.

[31] Archives of Saskatchewan [hereafter cited as AS] , Papers of the Hon. W. Scott [hereafter cited as Scott Papers] , The town of Vonda Appeal from Court of Revision, Sept. 15, 1911, 35193-194.

[32] Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1912-13, ch. 35, sec. 3.

[33] Ibid., ch. 36, sec. 3.

[34] AS, Scott Papers, MacKinnon to Scott, Dec. 30, 1912, 24271-273.

[35] Ibid., MacKinnon to Scott, Jan. 6, 1913, 35276-284.

[36] Ibid., MacKinnon to Scott, Jan. 19, 1913, 35299-309.

[37] Daily Province, May 25, 1914. Reproduced in extenso.

[38] Morning Leader, July 30, 1914.

[39] AS, Scott Papers, Lawson to Scott, March 4, 1914, 35205-07.

[40] Ibid., Hoath to Sheppard, Oct. 9, 1914, 35215-217.

[41] Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1915, ch. 23, sec. 177, sub. sec. 3. This provision did not apply to the primary course in French. Departmental regulations provided for one hour of foreign language instruction between the hours of three and four o'clock. This instruction was to be confined to the teaching of "reading, composition and grammar." Regulations of The Department of Education, 1907, "Teaching of Foreign Languages, 10 (1).

[42] Evening Standard and Province, May 26, 1915.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid., May 27, 1915.

[45] Ibid., June 3, 1915.

[46] E. H. Oliver, What the Canadian Expects of the New Canadian (n.p., n.d.); cf. E. H. Oliver, The Winning of the Frontier (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1930), Chap. XI.

[47] E. H. Oliver, The Country School in Non-English Communities in Saskatchewan (Saskatoon: The Saturday Press and Prairie Farm, n.d.), p. 7.

[48] Ibid., p. 9.

[49] Ibid., pp. 7, 10 and 18.

[50] Evening Province and Standard, Dec. 27, 1915. Reproduced in extenso.

[51] Ibid., Jan. 24, 1916. Reproduced in extenso.

[52] Morning Leader, Feb. 25, 1916.

[53] Evening Province and Standard, Jan. 20, 1916.

[54] "Report of Proceedings, Meeting of Delegation of Grand Orange Lodge of Saskatchewan and Government on Jan. 20, 1916," reproduced in G. M. Weir, Evolution of the Separate School Law in the Prairie Provinces (n.p., n.d.) Appendix II, pp. 126-42.

[55] *Grain Growers' Guide*, Feb. 23, 1916. When resolutions such as this were being considered, it is not always clear whether the proposed restrictions were to apply in all grades or only at the elementary level.

[56] *Morning Leader*, March 3, 1916.

[57] *Daily Star*, March 4, 1916.

[58] *Morning Leader*, March 11, 1916.

[59] AS, Department of Education Files [hereafter cited as Education] , 23 (1) (2) (3).

[60] *Daily Post*, Feb. 28, 1917.

[61] *Daily Star*, June 12, 1917.

[62] *Daily Post*, June 16, 1917. *Morning Leader*, June 12, 1917.

[63] AS, Papers of the Hon. W. F. A. Turgeon [hereafter cited as Turgeon Papers] , General Files [hereafter cited as G.F.] , Kitchener L.O.L. No. 2671, Prince Albert.

[64] *Daily Post*, Feb. 13, 1918. For a more detailed study of the events of 1917-18 consult R. Huel, "The French Canadians and the Language Question 1918," *Saskatchewan History*, XXIII (Winter, 1970) pp. 1-15.

[65] *Grain Growers' Guide*, Feb. 20, 1918.

[66] *Daily Post*, Feb. 15, 1918.

[67] *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1918.

[68] *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1918.

[69] *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1918.

[70] *Le Patriote de l'Ouest* [hereafter cited as *Patriote*] , 27 fév. 1918.

[71] *Morning Leader*, Feb. 22, 1918.

[72] *Daily Star*, March 8, 1918.

[73] *Ibid.*, March 7, 1918.

[74] *Morning Leader*, June 17, 1918.

[75] *Daily Star*, Sept. 14, 1918.

[76] AS, Papers of the Hon. W. M. Martin [hereafter cited as Martin Papers] , 53 Ed., *passim*.

[77] *Ibid.*, Education, 3, McColl: Memorandum for Mr. Martin *re* Foreign Languages in Schools, Jan. 2, 1918. Blacklock: Memorandum for Mr. McColl *re* Foreign Languages in Schools, Jan. 3, 1918.

[78] *Ibid.*, Martin Papers, Memorandum: Suggested Amendments to Section 177 of the School Act, Aug. 12, 1918, 17681.

[79] *Ibid.*, Scott Papers, Motherwell to Scott, Dec. 13, 1918, 78108.

[80] *Ibid.*, Turgeon Papers, G. F., Mathieu to Turgeon, 17 déc. 1918.

[81] *Daily Post*, *Daily Star*, Dec. 18, 1918.

[82] *Daily Post*, Dec. 18, 1918.

[83] *Daily Star*, Dec. 19, 1918.

[84] *Daily Post*, Dec. 19, 1918; *The Language Question before the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan. Addresses of Hon. W. M. Martin, Hon. W. R. Motherwell, Hon. S. J. Latta and Hon. C. A. Dunning.* (Prince Albert: *Le Patriote de l'Ouest*, 1919).

[85] AS, Martin Papers, Official Hansard 18549-558.

[86] *Ibid.*, 18655-659.

[87] *Ibid.*, 18684-692.

[88] For a detailed study of the origins of the A.C.F.C. (1912) and *Le Patriote* (1910-11) consult R. Huel, "l'Association Catholique Franco-Canadienne de la Saskatchewan. A Response to Cultural Assimilation 1912-34," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Regina Campus, Aug. 1969), Chap. II.

[89] *Patriote*, 8 fév. 1917.

[90] Archives of the Archdiocese of Regina [hereafter cited as AAR] , Affaires Personnelles de Mgr Mathieu 1916-21, Bégin to Mathieu, 16 nov. 1918. Even before coming to Saskatchewan, Mathieu had always favored conciliation and compromise on delicate questions. For his moderate position on the controversial Manitoba School Question, for example, consult H. B. Neatby, *op. cit.*, p. 84, p. 95, p. 98. For a more detailed consideration of Mathieu's contribution to the French cause in Saskatchewan see R. Huel "Archbishop Olivier-Elzéar Mathieu. Guardian of French Catholic Interests in Saskatchewan, "*La Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, Vol. 42, Juillet-Septembre 1972, No. 3, pp. 384-407.

[91] *Patriote*, 11 déc. 1918.

[92] *Ibid.*, 25 déc. 1918.

[93] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER III

NATIVISTS AND THE PRESERVATION OF BRITISH TRADITIONS IN SASKATCHEWAN

The language and school questions, the tumultuous preoccupations of many Saskatchewan residents during the war years, were far from resolved despite the overwhelming Liberal victory in the 1917 provincial elections and the School Act amendment assented to in January, 1919. Nativists rejoiced that the teaching of foreign languages had been abolished but their visions of cultural conformity clashed with the exception made in favor of the French language. As events were to prove, French language instruction proved to be an attractive subject around which to rally the staunch Anglo-Protestant host because of the other volatile issues inextricably associated with it: nuns teaching in public schools, public schools conducted in buildings owned by the Catholic Church, religious instruction in French, the presence of religious emblems in public schools and the religious bias of certain French textbooks used in public schools. These issues came to the fore at a time when a heightened concern was being voiced over the increasing cosmopolitan nature of Saskatchewan's population and the rôle of the public school in assimilating the foreign elements to Anglo-Saxon ideals and institutions. To those who desired to guide the public school on its proper course, French Canadians, because of their attempts to preserve their cultural identity through the teachin of *le doux parler* in schools, were regarded as the first stages of a malignant tumor which had to be removed to ensure the viable survival of a body politic that was Anglo-Protestant in essence.

Indications that the status quo did not satisfy the guardians of Anglo-Saxon traditions began to be voiced soon after the amendment to the language clause of the School Act was assented to on January 13, 1919. MacKinnon, who had resigned as pastor of Knox Church after the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had upheld Scott's contention in their decision in the famous Bartz case, accepted a second call from his former charges. In his letter of acceptance, published in the daily press, MacKinnon stated that correspondence from ministers and laymen in Saskatchewan convinced him that his duty lay in that province. He was convinced that his former parishioners and the population in general wanted him "to continue to relate on occasion, the broad principles of Christian freedom and fair play to the educational and national problems of our time." Declaring that the importance of these problems would not be lessened with the return of peace, he promised to vigorously and dutifully "enunciate the principles of freedom and fair play and crystallize the people's impatience with temporizing opportunists."[1]

While French Canadians found it difficult to comprehend the Anglo-Protestant mentality on issues such as freedom and fair play, the implications left little room for doubt. After reading MacKinnon's letter in the press, Attorney-General Turgeon informed Archbishop Mathieu that it foreshadowed the beginning of a new anti-French, anti-Catholic campaign. Turgeon had received information that it was the intention of a group sympathetic to the aspirations of MacKinnon and Bryant to inspect French school districts, single out any irregularities which might exist, and incite the Protestant residents in those districts to protest against real or imaginary grievances. Turgeon feared that this would result in a repetition of the passionate Ontario school controversy and to prevent this, he argued that agitators should find the least possible number of irregularities. He pointed, for example, to the large number of uncertified bilingual teachers, many of whom could not properly teach subjects in English and stated that their qualifications would have to be raised to a level acceptable to the Department. More critical, however, was the example of Gravelbourg where the public school rented premises from a convent owned by the Sisters of Jesus and Mary. In the absence of a separate school, Protestant children had to attend the public school and some Protestant parents were very sincere in objecting to their children receiving lessons in the convent. Turgeon remarked that their objections were as valid as those which would be forthcoming from Catholics if their children had to attend classes held in Protestant churches or an Orange Lodge. The Attorney-General stated that since French Canadians had recourse to Mathieu with their school difficulties, the Archbishop should be made aware of the legitimate grievances of Protestants and the tactics of nativists.[2]

As events were to prove, Turgeon's fears were not unfounded. In the summer of 1919, the Orange Order began to circulate petitions to test the strength of the movement for one school and one language. The petition asked the government to suppress the use of French as a language of instruction and French as a subject of study, and abolish all separate schools.[3] In late 1920, the anti-French language, anti-separate school sentiment coalesced into a formal document entitled "Petition re Separate Schools" circulated by the Anti-Separate School Campaign whose headquarters were in Oxbow. The petition stated that French had no official status in district. When the construction of the convent was completed, however, the public school allegedly was condemned by the inspector. Instead of making the necessary repairs to the edifice, the trustees transferred the public school to the convent and nuns were placed in charge, much to the dismay of the Protestant minority which found it impossible to secure redress for its grievances.[8] Faced with this situation, Protestants in Gravelbourg had three choices: they could continue to send their children to the nuns to be educated; they could move away from the district; or they could protest in vain. Rondeau went so far as to cite the highly inflated figure of forty Protestant residents leaving the district in the period 1918-19 as a result of dissatisfaction with school conditions. He referred to the Saskatchewan experience as the "convent-public school amalgamation" whose atmosphere was impregnated with a sectarian bias as blatant as that of any separate school. Rondeau charged that wherever the French were strong enough in Saskatchewan, they displayed a callous disregard for minority rights and, with the connivance of the authorities, they placed the public school behind convent walls.[9]

Behind all the attempts by the French to undermine the ideal of the public school Rondeau saw the true goal of establishing a new French Catholic "political bloc." The French had no desire to become assimilated and their plan was to create a dual civilization beyond Quebec. To do this, they required French language instruction for their children and the Saskatchewan government had passed one amendment after another to the School Act to give satisfaction to French Catholics. Quebec was the driving force in the House of Commons and, in view of the capitulation of the provincial government, a French bloc would soon control Saskatchewan from the Bishop's Palace in Regina. Ministers of the Crown vigorously the province, that the time had come to consolidate all classes "in one undivided whole," and that unification was incompatible with the existence of separate schools which were a burden to the ratepayer. The petition demanded that the School Act be amended to abolish the use of French as a language of instruction and as a subject of study, and that separate schools be abolished.[4] Separate school supporters no doubt chuckled loudly when the Campaign's manager, S. R. Wallace, who was also secretary of the R. M. of Oxbow, was arrested for embezzling $5,919.00 from the Town of Oxbow.[5]

There were also patriotic organizations who eagerly scrutinized educational matters and protested against what they considered to be irregularities. F. J. Ivay, secretary of the National British Citizenship League, complained to the Department of Education about conditions in the public school in Sedley. He protested against the employment of nuns in "full regalia and garb" as teachers and he asked for an investigation into the reason why new public school premises had not been constructed. Ivay wanted to be certain that there would be no encroachment on the principles and privileges of the public school system or subversion of its proper legal status.[6]

While public schools in French districts were frequently castigated by nativists, none ever received as heavy a barrage as that levied against the Gravelbourg school by the ardent Reverend S. P. Rondeau, who wished to breach its convent walls and liberate it from the tentacles of Rome. Rondeau began his 'official' inquiry into the Gravelbourg school in late 1919 when he wrote to the Department for a copy of the ratepayers' petition to establish the school district.[7] According to the clergyman, everyone in the town originally favored the erection of a public school denied these accusations of servitude to Rome but the Presbyterian divine's convictions were immutable as he declared:

> No one realizes but he who knows what it means for a system of education to be under the spell of creeping, crawling, ever tightening tentacles of the Romish octopus, especially when you have in office men who think more of their tenure of office than of the integrity and inviolability of the Public School system. Saskatchewan should arise in her might and purge her school administration from a condition of things that promises no good for the future.[10]

While Rondeau focused most of his attention on the Gravelbourg school, other French Catholic districts in south-western Saskatchewan did not escape his scrutiny. He charged that in the Ferland public school, for example, an uncertified French Canadian teacher had been teaching for four years despite complaints from Protestant ratepayers. He also alleged that French was used as a language of instruction in at least three grades beyond the first year. Furthermore, the school opened with Catholic prayers such as the "Hail Mary" and attempts were made to proselytize Protestant children. Non-Catholic children were not as advanced in school as they should have been because too much was devoted to French grammar, Catholic prayers and catechism. English-speaking Protestants in the area were not numerous enough to establish a separate school and their children were being deprived of the proper educational facilities to which they were entitled. Rondeau claimed that Protestant children should be protected from such outrages by the government and it was regrettable that they had to defend themselves against Catholic proselytism in a public school.[11]

While there was an element of truth in Rondeau's assertions that Protestants were too few in number to establish a separate school, there were far more important reasons why so few Protestant districts exercised their right to separate from the public school. To begin with, the majority of Protestant parents were satisfied with the education provided by public schools in French districts, even when these public schools were conducted in convents and placed in charge of nuns. In Gravelbourg, for example, despite the dismal _tableau_ painted by Rondeau and others, only three Protestant ratepayers signed a petition to erect a separate school and one petitioner was not even a resident of the district. In forwarding the petition to Regina, the chairman of the local school board urged the Department to send out an inspector to ensure an equitable plebiscite on the matter because a few fanatical Protestants in the district had no desire to erect a separate school. They preferred to maintain the _status quo_ and continue to denounce the sectarian features of the public school.[12] Once a separate school was established, those within the minority who felt oppressed would have no further grounds to complain and nativists like Rondeau would lose their best source of propaganda.

Events in Ethier School District No. 1834 located in the Bellevue-Domremy district provide a typical example of the debate over the conduct of public schools in French Catholic districts. In August 1921, William Mackie, the only English-speaking Protestant ratepayer in the district, lodged the first of his many complaints by informing Premier Martin that the school was in reality a Catholic prayer room and that French was being taught "from morning to night." He claimed that some of the children were still in the second grade despite having attended the school for six years and he urged Martin to send out a "just" and "Protestant" man to investigate.[13] An inspector was sent out and he reported favorably on the teacher's qualifications and the conduct of the school. Mackie was far from satisfied and claimed that the inspector must be a Catholic despite the fact that the inspector in question had already earned the dubious distinction of being the most anti-French, anti-Catholic inspector as a result of the numerous complaints concerning his visits to French school districts.[14]

In the meantime, a new dimension was added to the controversy as a result of a family quarrel involving the teacher and one of the trustees with the result that the latter sided with Mackie. Not having received satisfaction from the Department, Mackie resorted to legal action and laid an information against two of the trustees charging them with permitting religious instruction to be given at various times prior to the last half-hour of the school day and permitting French to be used as a language of instruction beyond the first year. The defendants appeared before a Justice of the Peace and were found guilty of allowing French to be used as a language of instruction beyond grade one and fined fifteen dollars and costs. The magistrate ruled that he had no jurisdiction over the charge dealing with religious instruction and it was dismissed.[15] The two convicted trustees retained John G. Diefenbaker to conduct their appeal in District Court where the presiding judge quashed the conviction on a technicality but, nevertheless, remained convinced that there had been "a flagrant violation" of the provisions of the School Act dealing with French language instruction.[16]

Despite instructions from the Department to the local board to have the affairs of the district conform more closely to the general desires of the ratepayers, a new teacher, and a new board of trustees, Mackie was still complaining in May, 1923, that conditions were worse than before.[17] In June, he informed the Minister of Education that he had removed his children from school and that they would not return until it was conducted properly.[18] Two months later, in August, he again protested against the conduct of the school. He claimed to be a "heavy ratepayer" and that he had a right to have his children educated. Someone was responsible for the loss of his children's education and he wanted to know who that person was.[19]

It is highly improbable that Mackie ever effected a reconciliation with the school board or that he ever obtained redress for his alleged grievances. If there was one consolation that the staunch defender of minority rights in Ethier School district could derive from his efforts, it was that his legal proceeding against the trustees provided a precedent for other dissatisfied ratepayers in the French districts. Seven months after the trial of the trustees of Ethier school, two French-speaking trustees of the Frenchville School district were charged with failing to provide proper educational facilities for the children of that district. The principal issue in this case was not the teaching of French per se but, nevertheless, it was closely related because it concerned the premature dismissal of the teacher by the accused because she was incapable of providing instruction in the French language.[20]

Anglo-Saxon Protestants like Mackie, who felt that their rights were being threatened by unwarranted French pretentions or whose vision of a British West clashed with its polyglot population, were drawn into the ranks of the Orange Lodge, the patriotic association unreservedly committed to safeguarding and perpetuating the British Protestant character of the Dominion. Its motto, "One flag, one language, one school, Equal rights to all and special privileges to none," was broad enough to encompass every nativist fear and frustration. The Lodge suspected everything that was not British or Protestant of subverting the Canadian national ideal. Ironically, the Order's ideological premises dealing with non-sectarian schools and separation of church and state were not British but borrowed from the United States. Their American origin, however, did not render them any less patriotic in the Canadian nativist context. In addressing the Protestant Women's Federation in Toronto, the Reverend F. C. Ward-Whate, Grand Chaplain of the Imperial Orange Council of the World and British America, stated that Canada must follow the American example and adopt the "red schoolhouse". The French had not agitated for their rights in the United States and Canada was reaping the results of that lesson in the form of a divisive educational system. He contended that Canada could not go on as it had and that civil war was inevitable. There were forty-six nationalities living in Canada and they had to be taught in the same school to honor the same flag. To the Reverend Ward-Whate, there was no alternative:

> If Canada is to be great, it must be British. The only way to make them British is to force them to speak English. They must learn that they are under the British flag.[21]

The Lodge had exercised an important influence in Ontario politics and it tried to exercise that same influence in the prairie provinces as attempts were made to transplant the ideological foundations of the Ontario Loyalist Protestant character in the West. In Saskatchewan, the Order had its largest membership outside of Ontario and, as in the example of the mother province, the Lodge directed its appeals to the zealous Anglo-Protestant element and tended to support the Conservative party whose platform was remarkably similar to the Orange creed. In Saskatchewan, the Lodge's political influence was decisive enough to make prospective Conservative candidates join its ranks in order to secure their nomination.[22] The Order, and its county branches, availed themselves of every opportunity to make their views known to government on sensitive issues such as schools, foreign language instruction, bilingualism and immigration.

Questions of particular importance to Orangemen were discussed in the order's official journal, The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate published by British-American Publishers in Toronto. The Sentinel catered to every conceivable Protestant-nativist taste and hardly an issue went by without some revelation of a Catholic plot to subvert Protestant liberties, a scandalous priestly indiscretion, the insiduous spread of bilingualism, and the subsequent decline of British symbols. From time to time, the journal also publicized the books which an informed Protestant public should read so it could counter the designs of Rome and Quebec. The Baptism of Blood, for example, was the history of a Vatican plot against France. It had been specially translated for the Sentinel which described it as "the most amazing exposure of the pro-Germanism of the Vatican Party, written by a French Roman Catholic priest."[23] The June 17, 1920, issue listed the following titles as "bargains in books:" The Attempted Abduction of Sister Mary Basil, Lindsay's Rome in Canada, Chiniquy's Fifty Years in the Church of Rome, and Sellar's The Tragedy of Quebec.

The Sentinel often revived and reinforced old Protestant fears by providing more relevant interpretations. Early in 1920, for example, the journal revealed that the agitation of the Quebec bishops for bilingual schools in Ontario had made Quebec a solid faction but had produced an unexpected anti-French sentiment in the other provinces. The "ecclesiastical politicians" were putting the "soft pedal" on bilingualism, hoping to eliminate the isolation brought about by their tactics. The Quebec bishops still wanted to rule Canada but the means to achieve this goal had been altered. The Sentinel revealed that the policy of the clerics was to concentrate on the settlement of New Ontario by French Catholics and have this area secede from the older part of the province. If Ontario could be split in half by the creation of a new French province, it would provide the French with a physical connection to the West and prove to be a great advantage in enabling them to spread their communities across Canada.[24] The journal reported later that the Quebec clergy had pledged $5,000,000. to make Ontario French and that this campaign was to continue for thirty years.[25] The Anglican Bishop of Moosonee was quoted as saying that Catholic priests were as thick as mosquitoes in northern Ontario. He claimed that, in some instances, whole villages had been transplanted from Quebec to northern Ontario.[26]

In addition to providing material of general interest to Canadian Protestants, the Sentinel also provided extensive coverage of events in the western provinces, and especially Saskatchewan where the struggle against the powers of darkness was at a more critical stage. In reporting the formation of a new lodge in Wilcox, the journal stated that the Catholic priest had been very active in the area and that a new separate school had been built. Appeals were always being made to Protestant generosity and tolerance but, under this façade, secret intrigues and aggressions were being carried out and readers were urged to wake up to a sense of their duty.[27] A few months later, the journal disclosed that the St.Agnes Separate School in Moose Jaw had collected the smallest sum per pupil during the Great War Veteran's drive for funds. The Sentinel stated that the figure of nineteen cents per pupil was a disgrace, when Westmount School, a school in the Gallician quarter, gave twenty-nine cents per pupil. People from the land of the Hun had been more generous, despite the fact that one of the Veterans' campaigners was a Catholic.[28] Catholic hospitals in the West did not escape the Sentinel's surveillance. Under the caption, "Romanist Hospitals are Getting the Cream," it stated that Catholic hospitals had everything they needed for their work and that the better elements of society were patronizing them as a result of their superior facilities. The general hospitals, on the other hand, had to look after those who were less able to pay.[29]

If it condemned Catholic institutions in no uncertain terms, the Sentinel naturally lavished unreserved praise on Protestant ones and the fine example set by their membership. In complimenting W. H. G. Armstrong, Grand Organizer of the Saskatchewan Lodge, for his meritorious work, the journal stated that his public addresses were productive in stimulating Protestant sentiment and adding to the membership of the order. It went on to relate his recent visit to Parkside where, among those in the audience, was a young man who had become engaged to a Catholic girl and who had been persuaded to embrace her faith:

> Bro. Armstrong's address opened his eyes to the real character of that institution just in time to make him realize that he was on the verge of making a mistake that would affect his whole life. Coming to that conclusion, he broke off his engagement and announced his intention to join the Orange Association.[30]

By selecting the information presented to its readers, the Sentinel made it possible for an already preconditioned group to become even more selective in their perception of the political world. The journal's subscribers in turn, were eager to co-operate in creating the world in the same configuration. As could be expected, the Reverend S. P. Rondeau was a frequent contributor to the Sentinel and with his French Canadian, though Protestant background, he was able to better inform concerned Protestants not only of the obnoxious practices carried on behind the walls of convent public schools, but also of the larger French Jesuitical scheme to enslave Canada. For his part, "Western Subscriber" wrote the editor stating that the average citizen had not the opportunity to study the intricate documents dealing with French language rights in Canada and he asked the journal to publish a "correct, clear and concise exposition of what the French language is justly entitled to." The editor replied that the rights accorded to French in the Dominion Parliament and courts and Legislature and courts of Quebec were "special privileges."[31] From Saskatchewan, "Subscriber" wrote to say that the constitution had been violated and torn to pieces by racialists. He believed that if the French continued to seek special privileges it might be necessary to organize a Ku Klux Klan in Canada because that association stood for liberty and justice. He claimed that it was necessary to do something to save the Union Jack from being pulled down all over Canada. He declared that it was the politicians who catered to the French vote and bowed to the priests who were to blame for the present state of affairs.[32]

Today the editorials and comments of the Sentinel appear slightly humorous but, in the 1920's and 1930's, this journal and its contents were read by people who had been brought up to believe that every last word was gospel truth. Thus, the Sentinel had a tremendous influence in forming the zealous Protestant mentality and maintaining it in a state of near hysteria and paranoia. The journal's correspondents were often misinformed and often exaggerated what they reported and obviously no attempt was made to verify or to correct material when it was published. Rondeau's exposés of the Gravelbourg school, for example, contained glarring inaccuracies and misinterpretations. The more ominous an issue was made out to be, the more impact it had on readers. A good example of a misleading, inaccurate report on a sensitive issue occurred in late 1924 when the Department of Education decided to adopt a program of study for the one hour a day French course. Lengthy negotiations had been carried out between the Department and the A.C.F.C.'s educational committee. The Minister of Education, S. J. Latta, was prepared to accept the program submitted by the A.C.F.C. but he feared repercussions when this fact was made public.[33] Latta had good reason to fear adverse publicity because even before the official decision had been made to authorize a program of study, the Sentinel's headline conspicuously announced: "A Papal Victory in Saskatchewan." Readers were informed that the Saskatchewan government had capitulated to the Bishops of Quebec and French would be made a compulsory subject in all schools. It was "a victory for papal policy" the full significance of which only the Sentinel could explain to the Protestant public. And explain it did, asserting that Rome had been given a means of "wholesale proselytizing" that had no parallel in any other Protestant country. The sole object of Romanist teachers, "under vows to their Lord God, the Pope," will be to make the children Roman Catholic. The journal went on to predict that present teachers would be driven out of their schools by nuns and brothers from Quebec and that the only qualification to teach in Saskatchewan would be a knowledge of French.[34]

In its next issue the Sentinel went so far as to declare that every child in Saskatchewan would be forced to learn French and that teachers would be watched to make certain that they did not neglect the teaching of French while inspectors, in turn, would be spied upon and removed by "secret manipulations" if they did not force the teaching of French.[35] The journal stated that public agitation, exposing the manipulations of the French bishops and revealing the dangers inherent in the government's policy, might cause Premier C. A. Dunning to change his mind before it was too late. The Dunning government had been "brought to heel" by frequent visits by the most influential and eloquent clerics. The resistance of the Ministers slowly broke down under "unceasing pressure" and, in return for the privilege accorded the French language, the government was assured the solid support of the Catholic vote. Since Dunning expected to be a minister in Mackenzie King's cabinet, the Sentinel asked: "Has his ambition to be a Federal Minister nothing to do with his promise to make the schools of Saskatchewan French?"[36] While the Sentinel did print the text of a telegram by Premier Dunning categorically refuting its allegations, the psychological effect, insofar as the nativist Protestant mind was concerned, could not be altered or diminished by a retraction.[37]

The vigilant Sentinel was also quick to publicize and comment upon any French Catholic attempt to subvert the traditional symbols of monarchy and empire. It announced that an order-in-council appointing a committee to "report on the most suitable design for a Canadian national flag for use ashore," was a brazen insult to Protestants in Canada because the six members were Catholics. The paper would not be surprised if they recommended the flag of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, the papal flag of Quebec. All loyal Protestant subjects who revered the Union Jack were urged to write Prime Minister Mackenzie King and seek the rescission of the "iniquitous" order-in-council and the dismissal of the papist committee.[38] A week later, it announced that Mackenzie King's "attack" on the Union Jack was a challenge to Orangemen in Canada and that only a strong organization could overcome the scheme to disrupt the Empire: "To your tents, O Israel."[39] Two weeks after the disclosure of the religious affiliation of the flag committee, the order-in-council was rescinded and the Sentinel said this was due to its efforts and those of the Orange Order which had aroused indifferent Protestants to the danger at hand. Readers were warned that the struggle was not over and that there would be other attempts to get rid of the Union Jack. The next schemes would be more subtle to evade Orange vigilance "but the motive will be the same -- the weakening of Canadian loyalty to the Empire."[40]

Canada's "proper" national anthem was yet another symbol which the Sentinel attempted to isolate from French Canadian contamination. It argued, for example, that "O Canada" was a purely sectional hymn breathing French aspirations and not expressive of British sentiments. It was not worthy of being placed on the same level as "The Maple Leaf Forever" which expressed attachment and devotion to the Empire, sentiments which did not exist among the French. The Sentinel urged its readers to do their patriotic duty and remain seated when the French hymn was played.[41] When John Philip Sousa's famous band performed at the Regina Exhibition in 1925, an irate ex-soldier from Rouleau wrote to inform the editor that thousands rose to their feet and removed their hats to the sounds of "O Canada." He argued that most people knew better but were indifferent or afraid of being criticized for remaining seated. It was this type of indifference that provided papists with the opportunity to press their claims.[42]

Despite the obvious mendacious nature of the Sentinel's reporting and editorials, and its paranoiac fears, the paper's credibility factor remained high, not only because it was consulted by people who wanted to believe what they read, but also because the same accusations and revelations were being voiced by prominent individuals who represented the very essence of the British character. The Right Reverend George E. Lloyd, Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Prince Albert, was an individual whose character and sincerity were beyond reproach and whose personality epitomized that of the dominant Anglo-Protestant élite. Lloyd was the incarnation of the ideal Canadian national type envisaged by the nativists: a sober, God-fearing, Anglo-Saxon Protestant who cherished monarchy and empire. He was convinced that the ethnic composition of the population presented a menace to the Protestant constitution and other ideals that he cherished. Lloyd retaliated against this threat by becoming a strong advocate of cultural conformity by means of selective immigration. Speaking before the Canadian Club of Saskatoon in March 1922, he urged that discrimination against immigrants from the British Isles be terminated and restrictions imposed on immigration from non-preferred countries. Lloyd argued that the few C.P.R. immigration agents left in Britain were doing very little work while new offices were being opened up across Europe. He went on to speak of the menace of the French element in Quebec which had vast sums of money behind it. The French not only permeated the Eastern Townships but were also spreading into the Maritimes. Lloyd complained that a few weeks before on his passage through Moncton, he heard more French than English on the station platform, and this "in the heart of a country originally peopled by the most loyal and British element of all, the United Empire Loyalists."[43]

As a result of his position, prestige and sentiments, Lloyd was a frequent speaker at patriotic gatherings where his comments were loudly applauded. Speaking before the Sons of England and the Daughters and Maids of Scotland at St.George's Day celebrations in Saskatoon, Bishop Lloyd warned:

> If this nation is to do its proper work in the world, if it is to exercise the influence for which God has given it the talents, then we must insist on being a homogenious people

> with a unity of language and loyalty. We must be welded into one body, and that body must be Anglo-Saxon, and the elements that cannot assimilate, or do not want to assimilate, ought not to be admitted to the country in its formative years.[44]

Turning his attention to the language question, Lloyd declared that Canada had been bought and paid for by English money and "therefore it has a right to become an English-speaking country." He argued that cohesion must precede unity and that French and other foreign languages ought not to be tolerated except as "private accomplishments."[45]

Bishop Lloyd was not the only Protestant clergyman who expressed the fear that the Anglo-Saxon stock would be swamped by the alien hordes but he was undoubtedly the most outspoken. Protestant churches and clergymen had not made a noticeable impact on the total European population in western Canada and this lack of success caused the Methodists, for example, to underestimate the rate at which the foreign born were being assimilated. The Protestant churches wanted more than assimilation _per se_: they wanted a Canadianization which included "the social values of Protestantism."[46] Despite its great enthusiasm for the task, the Protestant clergy experienced one great disadvantage in its efforts to bring the Gospel to the alien-born: it was English-speaking whereas the Catholic clergy was fluent in the necessary European languages. Thus, the attempt to impart Protestant values and beliefs to immigrants could succeed only if those people, and especially their children, learned and spoke English. Compulsory English language education in public schools was the obvious solution to the immigrant problem insofar as the Protestant clergy were concerned and they undertook the cause of English only in non-sectarian public schools with the same enthusiasm that characterized their crusades against alcohol and other social evils.

In his reminiscences as Superintendent of Methodist Missions in the West, the Reverend James Woodsworth urged the Protestant churches to concern themselves with the question of immigration lest Canada be peopled by various nationalities with differing moral and religious beliefs, and in such numbers that true assimilation could not take place.[47] A few years earlier his son, the Reverend J. S. Woodsworth, had voiced the fear that the churches had not seized the importance and magnitude of the issue. He argued, for example, that Canada must have "clearly defined ideals of national well-being" and that these ideals must not be lost sight of. The highest principles of civilization and Christianity were incarnate in the Anglo-Saxon race and there was no doubt in Woodsworth's mind that Canada was not only an Anglo-Saxon nation but a Protestant one as well.[48] He reflected the Methodist ethos in which Protestantism and Canadianization became nearly synonymous terms. Catholics and Mormons presented a serious menace to the Protestant ideals and Anglo-Saxon civilization cherished by Woodsworth. The religious issue was heightened when it merged with racial differences: the Catholic Church drew its strength from Quebec, while the immigrants were primarily Catholic, or Greek Orthodox from inferior south-east Europe.[49] Woodsworth argued that by settling in colonies, the foreigners isolated themselves from the Canadian way of life and remained under the influence of ideals alien to the Anglo-Protestant ethos he valued. He urged that the foreign communities be scattered among the population to facilitate assimilation to a superior ideal. He argued that the public school, and by implication English language instruction, were the most efficient means of breaking down the barriers between Canadians and immigrants.[50]

The Reverend E. H. Oliver, Principal of St. Andrew's Theological Seminary in Saskatoon, was another Protestant clergyman who devoted much of his time and writing to the question of the New Canadian. In an address to the National Conference of the Student Christian Movement at the University of Toronto, he warned that the presence of the immigrant was a two-fold menace. The immigrant presented a threat to Canada because of his "inability, sometimes even unwillingness," to assume the implications of Canadian citizenship. Canada, on the other hand, presented a menace to the immigrant because he found himself transplanted in a land where there were no fixed traditions and standards.[51] While he cautioned against "hysterical shrieking" against aliens, Oliver left no doubt that the pattern of group settlement in the Canadian West had created a situation that was far from satisfactory.[52] He would not tolerate the perpetuation of racial differences that could lead to misunderstandings. He did not object to the first generation using their mother tongue in the home and for church services, but he would tolerate no attempt to make foreign languages displace English, the common means of communication.[53] Affirming that the New Canadian would be handicapped without a knowledge of English, Oliver argued that it alone should be the language of instruction in public schools.

Concern over the cosmopolitan nature of the population and the rôle of the school was not the sole perogative of patriotic associations or Protestant clergymen. The S.S.T.A., a very influential body, became a sounding board for nativist sentiment especially after the fanatical outburst at its 1918 convention when non-English trustees left its ranks to form two new groups, the Christian School Trustees Association and l'Association des Commissaires d'Ecoles Franco-Canadiens. From that moment the S.S.T.A. came under the control of the hard core Anglo-Protestant element and its resolutions concerning the rôle of the school in the assimilative process became more unanimous. The keynote of the 1919 convention was unmistakably "English only" and this accorded perfectly with the sentiments and attitudes of the more than 2,000 delegates who attended. Bryant was unanimously re-elected president as a tribute to the firm stand he had adopted on the language issue in the previous two years. In his presidential address Bryant rejoiced that he had been present at the 1918 convention to play his "humble" part in the great cause of English only in Saskatchewan schools. He stated that while much had been achieved in securing that end, a great deal more had to be done.[54]

Taking their cue from Bryant, the Trustees proceeded to incorporate their nativist enthusiasm into resolutions. A motion requesting that English be the only language of instruction and the only language taught during school hours was passed without discussion and with only one dissenting vote. To make certain that the foreigner could not control the affairs of a school district and impede progress, another resolution requested that to be eligible for the office of trustee, a person had to be able to read and write English.[55] Considerable discussion followed the presentation of a motion requesting that all conventions held in the province be conducted in English because the use of foreign languages tended "to foster and perpetuate a foreign nationalistic spirit" prejudicial to the best interests of Canada. The motion was eventually sent back to committee for further consideration.[56] Another resolution stated that French Canadians had no legal rights to linguistic privileges in Saskatchewan and that these concessions were not in the best interests of the province. Speaking to the resolution, Rondeau stated that it was in the best interests of the French themselves that they be granted no linguistic privileges. He affirmed that French Catholics were resisting assimilation and always "nibbling at the vitals of the public school system to destroy it." Manitoba had settled the question once and for all, and he urged that it was now up to Saskatchewan to do the same.[57]

In addition to their unequivocal desires for English, the Trustees also wanted to rescind the confessional feature of the Educational Council by requesting that the provisions of the School Act pertaining to the appointment of members be amended by striking out the words, "at least two of whom shall be Roman Catholics." In support of the resolution, it was argued that the present law accorded a privilege to a particular religious denomination and that Catholics had no more right to be named to the Council than any other group. The resolution was passed unanimously. In an attempt to terminate what they regarded as an unjust division of corporate taxes between public and separate schools, the Trustees asked that all corporations be assessed and taxed only as public school supporters.[58]

The following year, in 1920, the Trustees discussed another delicate issue, the presence of religious emblems in public schools. In response to a request to explain a resolution prohibiting religious symbols in public schools, Rondeau again used the Gravelbourg school as an example of where the legitimate requests of the Protestant minority had been denied. He stated that in nearly every classroom children were exposed to religious emblems, the mother superior was principal, and yet the convent received $13,000. in public funds. He declared that Protestants wanted no religious bias in schools nor did they want public schools to be conducted in religious institutions. A loud applause followed his remarks and a resolution asking that public schools displaying religious emblems during school hours be deprived of public funds was carried with one dissenting vote. A resolution moved by Rondeau requesting that no school be conducted in a religious institution was also carried.[59] "Tremendous applause" followed a delegate's remarks that separate schools should never have been instituted in Saskatchewan, that they were prejudicial to harmony and created fiscal complications.[60] A resolution requesting that the government abolish all separate schools was "carried unanimously by a standing vote and prolonged applause."[61]

Following these deliberations seeking to end the special privileges of Catholics in educational matters, the Trustees went on to consider the teaching of French. A resolution was introduced demanding the repeal of French as a language of instruction and as a course of study. In speaking to the resolution, Rondeau made one of the "most impassioned speeches" delivered at the convention, claiming that it was not in the best interests of the country for children to learn French in the primary grades. The result of attempts to teach two languages in schools was that children learned neither language properly. Rondeau asked why part of the population should be given privileges that "will breed trouble in our body politic in years to come." His remarks were accompanied by a resounding applause and the resolution was adopted with one dissenting vote.[62]

The S.S.T.A.'s unanimity on these crucial educational issues was an indication that their representations were too strong to be disregarded. At the 1921 convention, the delegates clearly demonstrated that they had lost none of their determination to ensure cultural conformity. J. H. Currie of Vonda opened the discussion on the separate school question by stating that if those schools continued to increase, it would be impossible to eradicate them in five years. He argued that it was really a struggle between democracy and "ecclesiastical autocracy," a conflict between those who favored a Canadian type and those who wished to maintain racial divisions.[63] A resolution was introduced later asking the government to hold a referendum on the abolition of separate schools and French language instruction at the next election. Speaking to the resolution, delegate Pain asked every trustee to make an issue of it in his district and to adopt the following parody on "The Maple Leaf" as a battle cry:

> The public school, that English place
> The public school forever;
> God save our King and ever bless
> The country school forever.[64]

The resolution was carried unanimously amid resounding cheers. Resolutions were also carried calling upon the government to rescind the religious qualifications for membership on the Educational Council and to prohibit the display of religious garb and emblems in public schools.[65] A resolution re-affirming the Trustees convictions that English be the only language of instruction was "carried unanimously amid applause." Another resolution sought an amendment to the School Act to require every trustee to be able to read and write English.[66]

In 1922, the "hardy annual" was again brought before the S.S.T.A. in the form of a resolution reiterating the association's belief in the necessity of establishing a system of national schools in which English was the only language of instruction. In speaking to the motion, Mr. Wilbur of Creelman stated that the government paid little attention to resolutions dealing with separate schools and language, and that it was time for the convention to "take the bull by the horns and have a showdown." Mr. Needham of Unity stated that, if the government was afraid to tackle the problem, the people would have to elect one that would deal with separate schools. His remarks were greeted by loud applause and the motion was carried unanimously.[67] A resolution, presented by the executive, requesting that the government amend the School Act to make English the only language of instruction and to strictly enforce this provision, was also carried unanimously. Resolutions calling for the suppression of non-English readers in public schools and an amendment to the School Act making it mandatory for trustees to speak and read English were introduced and carried. The Trustees also passed a resolution asking the government to cease printing the School Act in the French language because this policy "was not in keeping with the best idea of promoting Canadianism."[68]

The separate school question did not emerge at the 1923 convention which debated the merits of Bible reading in schools, but the following year the S.S.T.A. re-affirmed its "unalterable opposition" to a system which permitted the establishment and maintenance of separate schools. The delegates also reiterated their belief in a system of non-sectarian national schools in which English was the only language of instruction. In speaking to the motion, F. W. Wilbur of Creelman said that separate schools were "a curse anywhere and everywhere." Needless to say, the motion was carried. A resolution was introduced by Niederland School District No. 1812 requesting that legislative provisions dealing with the qualifications of trustees be amended to include a reading and writing knowledge of language other than English. Loud and prolonged applause followed the introduction of an amendment that qualifications should be "read and write in English." The original motion was tabled.[69]

An indication of the Sentinel's popularity and credibility among certain trustees was manifest in a motion before the 1925 convention protesting against the "arrangements" made between eastern French Canadians and the Minister of Education to make French a compulsory subject in Saskatchewan schools. After considerable discussion, the chairman of the Resolutions Committee remarked that the motion was not entirely correct and it was tabled.[70] As could be expected, the S.S.T.A. again placed itself on record as favoring a national school system with English as the only medium of instruction. A resolution requesting that the school day be opened with the reading of the Bible was carried. A motion stating that a resolution affecting education and carried unanimously by the association ipso facto should be endorsed by the Educational Council was tabled.[71]

Thus, by the mid twenties, questions of language, school, and cultural homogeneity had become inextricably linked and showed little evidence of abating. As a matter of fact, the intensity of the issues was heightened as a result of the discussions of the S.S.T.A. and the declarations of individuals such as Rondeau and Lloyd. Although the political ramifications of the school issue lay dormant for several years after 1917-18, they were never far away from the actual problems of the French in attempting to maintain and enhance French language instruction and education for their children. The central concern of French Canadians before the reappearance of the school-language issues on the political scene was to find a solution to the many dilemmas inherent in providing language instruction for a minority. In the background, however, of the difficulties encountered by the French -- unsympathetic inspectors, recruitment of bilingual teachers, selection of textbooks, programs of study, and the intransigent attitude of the Department -- lay the hostility of an incalculable but certainly large number of the province's population.

It was as a result of this animosity, politically latent in the period 1918-24, that the political storm over education again began to cloud the horizon in 1925, coming to a climax in the religious, racial bigotry which highlighted the 1929 provincial election. In the meantime, those who felt that Saskatchewan's British character was being eroded as a result of immigration, separate schools, and French language instruction, tended to gravitate to the Conservative party, the grand, grand old party of Anglo-Protestantism, where they became the most vociferous if not the dominant element. As a result of this influence, the Conservative party became characterized by its anti-Catholic, anti-foreign views and, in a province like Saskatchewan with a large number of Catholics and foreigners, the fact that the Conservatives painted themselves in nativist colors could not but help maintain the Liberals in power. Furthermore, the Conservatives were never as astute as their political opponents in stressing important issues that appealed to the electorate and, with their backs perennially to the wall, the Conservatives tended to fall back on racial-religious issues. Frustration caused by the repeated failures of Conservatives in electoral contests reinforced the deep-seated conviction that defeat was due to the bloc vote of Catholics, French and non-English. To the nativists within the party, the only way to overcome the foreign and religious menace was through compulsory national schools and English language instruction which would change the polyglot population into one more Anglo-Saxon in character and, as a result, more susceptible to Conservative propaganda.

The Conservative leadership was incredibly naive in thinking that appeals to prejudice and bigotry were sufficient to win an election in Saskatchewan. To begin with, the banner of "English only" alienated the foreign born; the unreserved support of the Orange Lodge and other

Protestant associations estranged Catholics; and the overall Conservative campaign and tactics failed to convince the majority of the old stock British vote. It appears that the more liberally-minded Anglo-Saxons were not prepared to accept the program put forth on their behalf by the Conservatives. Despite the obvious limited appeal of the Conservative platform, the party leadership could not, or would not, examine defeat critically. W. G. Willoughby, for example, after publically having warned the Catholic Church to stay out of politics and leading his party on an English only platform, complained to Archbishop Mathieu that Catholics were more favorable to the Liberal party. During this "amicable conversation" Mathieu stated that the fact should come as no great surprise to Willoughby and that if the Conservatives expected more support from Catholics, they must give proof that they were willing to accord more justice to them.[72]

As the election of 1917 demonstrated, Mathieu's wise counsel to Willoughby went unheeded and the party continued in opposition and as a hotbed of nativist sentiment. After the resignation of party leader Donald MacLean one week before the 1921 election, the Conservative party's fortunes reached an even lower ebb as such opposition as there was in the Saskatchewan Legislature came from Progressives and Independents. In 1924, the Conservatives were casting about for a new leader, and there appeared to be few people who were interested in the position with the exception of Dr. James Thomas Milton Anderson, former rural school teacher (1908-09), inspector of schools (1911-18) (1922-24), and Director of Education Among New Canadians (1918-22). Despite the fact that Anderson was the only serious candidate for the position, his nomination was held up for over a month as a result of internal executive opposition from the southern part of the province.[73] Finally, on March 25, 1924, his nomination was enthusiastically ratified by the Conservative convention meeting in Moose Jaw.

Although he had no political experience whatsoever, Anderson's education and background were such that Conservatives regarded him as the "modern Moses" to lead them out of the political wilderness in which they had been wandering for nearly twenty years.[74] The Sentinel interpreted his entrance into public life as a "hopeful sign of awakening interest in the school question" in Saskatchewan, and stated that he would be equally acceptable to the journal if he had become leader of the Liberal or Progressive parties. The Saskatchewan Conservative party would have to be entirely rebuilt and the Sentinel could find no firmer foundation stone than Anderson.[75]

One of the reasons why the Sentinel was so enthusiastic over Anderson's nomination was that his educational philosophy was very similar to that which the journal wished to see implemented. In his book, The Education of the New Canadian, Anderson argued that "assimilative forces be carefully and expeditiously set to work." He stressed the importance of using English as the sole language of instruction in non-English school districts to produce students who spoke fluent and accurate English.[76] To make it possible for the inspector to discuss educational reform with trustees in non-English districts, Anderson argued that legislation should be introduced making it mandatory for trustees to read, speak and write English. If people with these qualifications were not available, the Department should appoint an official trustee to administer the affairs of the district.[77]

From a pedagogical point of view, Anderson's arguments were sound and difficult to refute. It was unfortunate, however, that his premises did not remain at the level of a discussion of educational goals and objectives but were pushed into the realm of politics where they were quickly reduced to something more menacing by nativists. Shortly after his appointment as party leader, Anderson addressed a Conservative rally in Melfort where he described the province's foreign problem as deplorable and urged his party to take steps to remedy the situation. He claimed that, since he had ceased to be Director of Education Among New Canadians there was no longer any leadership in educational affairs and the work among the foreign-born was being hampered.[78] At an organizational rally in Prince Albert he deplored the fact that some people could not speak English after having lived in the province for twenty years. He claimed to have known children who knew only a smattering of English despite the fact that their fathers were school trustees, and declared that such conditions must be remedied. Stating that he did not wish to interfere with the freedom of the New Canadian to use his native language, he, nevertheless, maintained that English should be the only language taught in public schools. He affirmed that there was not sufficient time to teach other languages in school and still graduate competent scholars.[79]

Anderson's remarks were severely criticized by Le Patriote, which described them as "striking mixture of contradictions." The Conservative leader, for example, did not wish to deprive anyone from using his language but did not want children to learn another language in school. Anderson had defined a New Canadian as anyone whose mother tongue was not English, and Le Patriote argued that it was absurd to place French Canadians in this category since they had been in Canada for three centuries. Le Patriote wondered how the French Canadian, who had historic rights not possessed by other groups, was to learn his language if English were the only language taught in schools. The editor concluded that the New Canadian might not be able to speak English perfectly but at least he could manage to communicate with others, which was more than Anderson could do in any other language.[80] In a style that was to become characteristic, Anderson was quick to reply to these comments by stating that an incorrect report of his speech had created a misunderstanding. He denied having stated that English should be the only language of instruction; he meant that every child should be taught English. He stated that he had a "high regard" for the French Canadian people and had not included them under the category of New Canadians. He wanted his letter published so the French would know that an injustice had been done to him. He concluded by promising that there would be no issues of race or language raised in the 1925 election.[81] Anderson's letter was published in Le Patriote and the editor hoped that, in the future, the Conservative leader would express the same sentiments in public with the "same precision and firmness." To be fair and just toward Anderson, Le Patriote invited him to announce publically the attitude of the Conservative party on the teaching of French to French Catholic children in Saskatchewan: "Un tel exposé contribuera beaucoup à dissiper bien des préjugés."[82]

As could be expected, Anderson never committed himself publically in favor of French language instruction, but two months before the 1925 provincial election he called upon Bishop J.-H. Prud'homme of Prince Albert, affirming his affection for French Canadians and his desire to please Catholics. He promised the prelate that he would never interfere with separate school rights and the teaching of French. Prud'homme informed Archbishop Mathieu of this meeting and indicated that he placed little faith in Anderson's sincerity.[83]

The 1925 election was to provide proof that Anderson's sincerity did not rest on a solid foundation. In Saskatoon, where the Conservative leader was a candidate, the Orange Lodge submitted the following questionnaire to those who sought office:

> 1. Do you believe in a non-sectarian public school system in the Province of Saskatchewan, which shall be the only school system to receive aid from the public treasury?
>
> 2. Do you believe that the English language should be the only official language in the Province of Saskatchewan, and the compulsory teaching of the English language in all its schools?
>
> 3. If you are returned as a member of the Legislature of the Province of Saskatchewan, will you lend your support and influence therein in the furtherance of these objectives?

Of the five candidates, Brother J. T. M. Anderson and G. A. Cruise were the only two who answered in a manner satisfactory to the Lodge. They had answered all questions affirmatively, and the order therefore recommended that members vote for them.[84]

The election of 1925 also served to illustrate the paranoiac thinking used by prominent Conservatives to rationalize their defeat. Bryant, who had been denouncing Rome and French Canadian designs before S.S.T.A. conventions and Conservative rallies, ran as a candidate in Regina but lost. He informed Arthur Meighen that he had polled a large vote and, had it not been for the Catholic Church making a strong attack on him in the last two or three days of the campaign, he would have been elected. He alleged that Dr. J. Uhrich, a prominent Catholic and Provincial Treasurer in the Dunning administration, came to Regina and stayed for the last four days of the campaign and the rumor was circulated that if Bryant were elected and the government defeated, the Conservatives would abolish separate schools. Bryant stated that this issue was never discussed in the campaign but, nevertheless, it was enough to defeat him.[85] In advising Meighen that Catholics had exercised a strong influence in the election, Bryant claimed that they were afraid that a farmers' government would be elected and subsequently alter legislation that was advantageous to them. In keeping with the paranoid style, Bryant advised Meighen that a Catholic priest had informed him that the religious authorities in Saskatchewan were very opposed to the Conservative party getting into power. Given the Catholic fear of a farmer government, Bryant claimed that it would help in future elections if there were enough Conservative candidates to give the impression that a purely Conservative government would be elected.[86] There were more valid reasons why the Conservatives were defeated and more important changes to be made to improve their chances, but Bryant was able to view and assess the outcome from only one viewpoint, that of a Catholic conspiracy.

Bryant was by no means the only Conservative who blamed the Catholic Church for his party's misfortunes. Anglo-Protestant nativists across Canada looked to the federal Conservative party as the instrument to immobilize the Catholic menace. F. F. Funston, an Orangeman in Winnipeg, wrote R. B. Bennett to inform him that "the Great Conservative Party, the Protestant's party" lacked a strong virile leader, and that he must come out "flat footed for Equal Rights to All and Special Privileges to None, Stand for the Old Union Jack and One Language, the English, One School, the Public School." Bennett was warned that Quebec no longer held the balance of power and that the West was waking up to the fact that the Liberals had insulted the voters' British sentiment. It was a French Canadian Postmaster-General who was responsible for issuing a "horrid" bilingual postage stamp.[87] Funston urged Bennett to be a good general and marshall his forces for the next federal election. By openly defying Rome and taking a strong stand for Protestantism, the Conservatives could obtain the support and backing of "loyal British subjects." Funston argued, furthermore, that Canada had no need of Catholic immigrants but Protestant ones from the British Isles and northern Europe. He hoped that when in power Bennett would staff the Department of Immigration with "strong virile Protestants who will know their business."[88]

Another stalwart, D. O. Roblin, a Toronto importer who returned from an extended tour of the West in the summer of 1926, wrote Meighen to congratulate him on his "long hard fought battle against that German thing King." He claimed that the public were on to Mackenzie King as an employee of the United States and that everyone in the West was wishing Meighen success. He advised Meighen that one of his first duties would be to make those "dirty foreigners" in Saskatchewan swear the oath of allegiance. In addition, he claimed that there were many "windy Yankees" in that province who had no right to vote and that efforts must be made to "make certain that the returning officers are of the right kind." Roblin hoped that the Conservative majorities would be large enough so that Meighen could deal with "these Frenchmen who knifed us quietly in the back in the last campaign."[89]

For its part, the Sentinel in the fall of 1924 began to comment very sympathetically on the activities of the K.K.K. in the United States. In an editorial entitled "The Public Mission of the Ku Klux Klan," the journal declared that the Klan was performing a public mission by focusing public attention on lax law enforcement, the incompatibility of Romanism and free institutions, and the intrigues of foreign elements. The Sentinel claimed that the Klan was going to the root of many political problems by exp[illegible]ng the political conspiracies of the Catholic hierarchy. According to the editor, some "fearless organization" or another would have to perform this duty if the Ku Klux Klan were destroyed today.[90]

In a subsequent issue, the Sentinel saw evidence of the efficiency of papal propaganda in the denunciations of the Klan by some Protestant ministers who had been brainwashed into thinking that it had been founded on religious and racial hatred. The Sentinel argued that the Klan had proven itself to be a supporter of Protestant churches and active in numerous "good works." Its political power had rendered it a strong opponent of Romish pretentions and all the resources of the Papacy were mobilized against it. The Sentinel reminded its readers that:

> So far, nothing discreditable has been proved against it. Surely it will be time enough for the Protestant pulpit to denounce the Klan when it is convicted of lawlessness.[91]

The Sentinel was undoubtedly not alone in desiring a Canadian patriotic organization such as the Klan to stop non-selective immigration, French aggression and Catholic intrigues. As 1925 dawned, nativists in Saskatchewan could derive little satisfaction from the progress that had been made to provide the province with a British character and traditions. Despite the zealous efforts of patriotic organizations and concerned nativists, French domination was an ever-present spectre, Catholic machinations were undermining traditional privileges and liberties, while indiscriminate immigration was fostering the settlement of non-preferred groups in the province. The public school, the guardian of tradition, was emasculated by iniquitous sectarian influences and French language instruction.

The rhetoric expended prior to 1925 to denounce influences alien to the Anglo-Protestant way of life was insignificant when compared to that which was to flow in the next five years. In the first half of the decade Rondeau and Bryant had been making merely prefatory remarks, the full indictment against Rome and French Canadians was yet to be presented to a gullible jury. Anderson himself had not realized the full potential of the political implications of the school question. Nativist forces lacked solidarity and a sense of direction as they went their separate ways pursuing various ends. In 1924, prohibition was rescinded in Saskatchewan, and the failure of this pillar of Anglo-Protestant morality was undoubtedly interpreted by many as a serious impediment to efforts to impose cultural conformity. It was against this background of agitation, frustration and paranoia that the Klan appeared in Saskatchewan, invigorating patriotic and nativist sentiment and leading concerned individuals on a crusade to make the province a better place for Anglo-Saxon Protestants to live.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Morning Leader, Jan. 13, 1919.

[2] AAR, Affaires Personnelles de Mgr Mathieu, 1916-21, Turgeon to Mathieu, 15 jan. 1918 [sic], Confidentielle. French Canadians in Saskatchewan tended to regard Turgeon as their personal representative in the cabinet.

[3] Daily Post, Aug. 12, 1919

[4] AS, Martin Papers, Anti-Separate School Petition, Kindersley S.D. No. 3840, 22138.

[5] Patriote, 23 mars 1921.

[6] AS, Papers of the Hon. S. J. Latta [hereafter cited as Latta Papers], 7 (3), Ivay to Latta, Sept. 4, 1921.

[7] Ibid., School District Files [hereafter cited as S.D.] , No. 2244, Rondeau to Dep. Min. of Education, Dec. 6, 1919.

[8] The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate [hereafter cited as Sentinel] , Nov. 30, 1920.

[9] Ibid., April 7, 1927.

[10] Ibid., Feb. 10, 1925. Protestant ratepayers were a very small minority in the Gravelbourg School District during this period, but it has not been possible to ascertain their precise numbers.

[11] Ibid., June 21, 1921

[12] AS, Turgeon Papers, G.F., Gravel to Turgeon, 10 nov. 1920.

[13] AS, Latta Papers, 7 (4), Mackie to Martin, August, 1921. Mackie was not a bona-fide resident of the district; he had been admitted to the district to make it easier for his children to attend school. For a more detailed study of the events, consult R. Huel, "The Teaching of French in Saskatchewan Public Schools. A Curious Infraction of the Provisions of the School Act in Ethier S.D. No. 1834, 1921-23," Saskatchewan History, XXIV (Winter, 1971), pp. 13-24.

[14] R. Huel, "l'Association Catholique Franco-Canadienne de la Saskatchewan: A Response to Cultural Assimilation 1912-34," pp. 148-50.

[15] Patriote, 29 mars 1922.

[16] AS, Papers of the Hon. C. A. Dunning [hereafter cited as Dunning Papers], Judge Doak's Decision in the Ethier S.D. Case, 11838-840.

[17] Ibid., Latta Papers, 7 (4) Mackie to Minister of Education, May 22, 1923.

[18] Ibid., Mackie to Dear Sir, June 8, 1923.

[19] Ibid., Mackie to Minister of Education, Aug. 15, 1923.

[20] Morning Leader, Sept. 13, 1922.

[21] Sentinel, June 9, 1925

[22] W. Calderwood, "The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Regina Campus, October, 1968), p. 174.

[23] Sentinel, Jan. 8, 1920.

[24] Ibid., Jan. 15, 1920.

[25] Ibid., Sept. 8, 1925.

[26] Ibid., Sept. 15, 1925.

[27] Ibid., Jan. 8, 1920.

[28] Ibid., April 29, 1920.

[29] Ibid., Aug. 28, 1923.

[30] Ibid., Jan. 10, 1921.

[31] Ibid., May 27, 1920.

[32] Ibid., Dec. 30, 1924. Despite its stinging comments on unwarranted bilingualism and French aggression, the Sentinel, nevertheless, maintained its objectivity in advertising matters and carried a classified ad for Dr. De Van's French pills, "A safe regulating pill for women." Sentinel, June 3, 1920.

[33] Papers of l'Association Culturelle Franco-Canadienne de la Saskatchewan [hereafter cited as A.C.F.C. Papers] , File 47, Marois to Morrier, 14 déc. 1924.

[34] Sentinel, Dec. 9, 1924.

[35] Ibid., Dec. 16, 1924.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., Jan. 13, 1925.

[38] Ibid., June 16, 1925.

[39] Ibid., June 23, 1925.

[40] Ibid., June 30, 1925.

[41] Ibid., Aug. 29, 1922.

[42] Ibid., Sept. 29, 1925.

[43] Ibid., March 14, 1922.

[44] Ibid., May 6, 1924.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Emery, G. N., op. cit., pp. 343-45.

[47] J. Woodsworth, Thirty Years in the Canadian North-West (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart, 1917), p. 232.

[48] J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within our Gates, Introduction by M. Barber (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 231-32.

[49] Ibid., p. VII.

[50] Ibid., p. 234.

[51] Daily Star, Dec. 30, 1922.

[52] E. H. Oliver, His Dominion of Canada (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1932), p. 95.

[53] Ibid., What the Canadian Expects of the New Canadian, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[54] Morning Leader, Jan. 23, 1919.

[55] Ibid., Jan. 24, 1919.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid. Under the terms of the School Assessment Act, corporate taxes were divided between the two school systems in proportion to the shares owned by Catholic and Protestant ratepayers. An amendment to that Act in 1912 made it easier for the separate school board to obtain its rightful share of taxes in the event that a corporation failed to notify that board of its assessible property, and the Trustees argued that this "deprived" the public school of monies it previously received.

[59] Report of Proceedings of 5th Annual Convention of S.S.T.A., 1920, pp. 110-12.

[60] *Daily Post*, Feb. 27, 1920.

[61] *Report of Proceedings of 5th Annual Convention S.S.T.A.*, p. 118.

[62] *Daily Post*, Feb. 28, 1920.

[63] *Daily Star*, Feb. 23, 1921.

[64] *Report of Proceedings of 6th Annual Convention of S.S.T.A.*, 1921, p. 147.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 173, p. 183.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 154, p. 150.

[67] *Report of Proceedings of 7th Annual Convention of S.S.T.A.*, 1922, pp. 157-59.

[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 113, 115, and 162.

[69] *Report of Proceedings of 9th Annual Convention of S.S.T.A.*, 1924, pp. 166-67.

[70] *Report of Proceedings of 10th Annual Convention of S.S.T.A.*, 1925, p. 188.

[71] *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 181 and 192.

[72] AAR, Affaires Personnelles de Mgr Mathieu, 1916-21, Mathieu à Blondin, 20 fév. 1917.

[73] PAC, Papers of the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen [hereafter cited as Meighen Papers] , Monroe to Meighen, Feb. 18, 1924, 77011.

[74] *Ibid.*, Dunlop to Meighen, March 5, 1924, 77024.

[75] *Sentinel*, April 8, 1924.

[76] J. T. M. Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 122 and 128.

[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 227-28.

[78] *Melfort Journal*, May 6, 1924.

[79] *Prince Albert Herald*, May 23, 1924.

[80] *Patriote*, 28 mai 1924.

[81] *Ibid.*, 11 juin 1924.

[82] *Ibid.*

[83] AAR, Affaires Personnelles de Mgr Mathieu, 1921-28, Prud'homme à Mathieu, 3 avril 1925.

[84] *Sentinel*, June 9, 1925.

[85] PAC, Meighen Papers, Bryant to Meighen, June 4, 1925, 77401.

[86] *Ibid.*, 77402.

[87] *Ibid.*, Bennett Papers, Funston to Bennett, Feb. 8, 1925, 18465.

[88] *Ibid.*, 18467.

[89] *Ibid.*, Meighen Papers, Roblin to Meighen, July 7, 1926, (Confidential), 086072.

[90] *Sentinel*, Sept. 23, 1924.

[91] *Ibid.*, Nov. 4, 1924.

CHAPTER IV

NATIVIST FERMENT AND THE RISE OF THE INVISIBLE EMPIRE OF KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

The year 1925 represents a watershed in the nativist crusade in Saskatchewan. Strong nativist undercurrents had existed and emerged prior to that year but they were sporadic and lacked a sense of direction. The end of hostilities had further weakened the nativist cause because it could no longer thrive on the emotional sentiment engendered by the war effort. The Conservative appeal had also fallen on deaf ears as a majority of the electorate continued to give their support to the political party reputedly under the influence of Rome and Quebec. Judging by election results, most of Saskatchewan's Anglo-Saxon population obviously remained ignorant of the dangers at hand despite the unequivocal pronouncements of patriots and politicians. Around the mid-point of the decade, however, the nativist pulse quickened as the pro-British forces began to sense a reawakening of Protestant sentiment and interest in matters which previously had been the preserve of a zealous élite. Properly exploited, the papal menace could become a useful political instrument especially if it were linked to a government which was in reality the puppet of Quebec ecclesiastics.

Only one organization, the Ku Klux Klan, could transport the concept of a papal menace from its ivory tower, where only the intellectuals and divines could participate in the discussions, to the realm of practical politics where every admirer of Protestant liberties could strike his blow for freedom. Anticipating a generous reward for their efforts, Klan organizers came to Saskatchewan and the Invisible Empire quickly took root in a fertile soil that had been prepared by years of nativist ferment. The appearance of the Klan, with a platform adapted to Saskatchewan needs and aspirations, galvanized nativist and patriotic forces into a sweeping campaign to eradicate the evils facing society and herald an Anglo-Protestant millenium. The revival of Protestant sentiment in turn contributed to a revivification within Conservative ranks, as party stalwarts were quick to perceive the political impact of the Klan's activities. With tacit support of the Conservative party and unreserved assistance of many Protestant organizations and clergymen, the Klan became an influential factor in the politics of the province. In the confrontation that accompanied the entry of the Klan into politics, it was often difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between Klansman, Orangeman, ultra-Conservative or zealous Protestant as the political, nativist and patriotic forces coalesced into a virtuous crusade to defeat the Liberal government and save the province from the insidious designs of Rome and Quebec.

All this, however, was in the future in December, 1925, when Dr. J. T. M. Anderson advised Arthur Meighen that he had resigned as party leader, claiming that those outside of Saskatchewan had not provided the support they had originally promised. Anderson argued that it was absolutely necessary that he secure a position which would enable him to earn a living and still keep his seat in the Legislature. He hoped to obtain employment with the C. P. R.'s immigration and colonization branch where his knowledge of conditions in Saskatchewan could be put to good use and he asked Meighen to intercede on his behalf.[1] A short time later, Anderson informed Meighen that no public pronouncement had been made concerning his resignation and that the calling of a nominating convention would depend on the possibility of an early election. He complained that there were signs of disloyalty and unjust criticism within Conservative ranks and that this was due to unnecessary jealously or thoughtless conclusions based on "enemy propaganda".[2] It would appear that Anderson's grievances were primarily economic and that these were resolved when the party made an arrangement to pay him a salary and he withdrew his resignation.[3]

If one were to believe the comments found in Anderson's subsequent letters, one could not but be convinced that it was only a matter of a few months before the Conservatives formed the next ministry. The Conservative leader always interpreted responses to his actions or pronouncements in the most glowing of terms. He informed Meighen, for example, that the seven Progressive members in the Assembly were unanimous in their desire that he lead in the Budget Debate in January, 1926. He claimed that after his two hour and twenty minute address all the Progressive members came to congratulate him heartily and that they were followed by a dozen Liberal members, one of whom went so far as to say on the floor of the Assembly that this was one of the best speeches ever delivered from the Opposition side.[4]

Considering the rhetoric which had emanated from the Conservative ranks, there may have been a grain of truth in the Liberal member's evaluation. Be that as it may, there appears to have been very little in Anderson's speech and later addresses that embarrassed the administration. As a matter of fact, his criticisms concerning education indicate that he had not yet grasped the political possibilities implicit in the school question and its use as a vehicle to guide nativist sentiment. For example, he criticized the Department for allegedly having omitted agriculture from the curriculum and he urged that it be taught to teachers in training.[5] Turning his attention to the French course of study which had been widely publicized by the Sentinel, Anderson quoted from French Canadian complaints previously published in Le Patriote. He argued that a course of studies should have been provided when the teaching of French was made legal and that it should not have been necessary for a group of people to make representations for the implementation of a program. He claimed that in this regard, French Canadians had not been treated with the fairness they deserved. Concerning the appointment of an instructor of modern languages at the Saskatoon Normal School, Anderson claimed that the position could have been justified on educational grounds and that it should not have been made in a manner that would provide grounds for suspicion that there was something political behind it. He also asked why the principal was instructed to warn the members of his staff to keep the appointment of a French Canadian instructor a secret.[6]

If Anderson had not yet understood the gravity of the situation and directed his party accordingly, the Sentinel, in the meantime, made certain that its readers were given first hand knowledge of Roman intrigues. In its March 9, 1926, issue, it affirmed that Saskatchewan was more a papal state than a British province because public schools were housed in convents and members of religious orders were paid as public school teachers. The journal later reported the case of a Scotsman who had settled in the province and bought a half-section of land, "but unfortunately in a Roman Catholic settlement." His Romanist neighbors wanted to drive him out of the district and to discourage him, they began to steal his property. The police had been unable to help and the Sentinel concluded that there was no hope of this "industrious man" receiving justice in a strong Roman

Catholic community determined to drive him out.[7] Furthermore, the editor saw similarities between what had taken place in the Eastern Townships and what was occuring in the Généraux School District where the election of French speaking trustees had wrested control of the school from English trustees. The new trustees were conducting the school as if it were a separate school with French and catechism as the main subjects of study. The only alternative open to Anglo-Protestant residents, if the requisite number existed, was to withdraw their children and organize a new school district.[8] The Sentinel also commented on the "rumor" that Catholics in Blaine Lake had petitioned for the erection of a separate school, and editorialized that it was questionable whether there were enough Catholics to support such a school. Furthermore, the existing five room school was sufficient for the educational needs of the town. According to the Sentinel, the actions of Catholics had opened the eyes of many too tolerant Protestants and "exposed them to the aggressiveness of Rome."[9]

For his part, the Reverend S. P. Rondeau contributed to the enlightenment of the Protestant mind with articles on how Quebec was planning to subdue the western provinces. He argued that "step by step" French Catholics were obtaining special privileges for their sectarian, racial, separate schools from submissive politicians. Gradually, through encroachments on the ideal of the public school, Quebec's confessional system was being transplanted into other provinces. He urged all those who desired national unity to stand fast:

> For the welfare of the Canadian Dominion; for the peace and unity of the polyglot peoples who elect to settle here; for the purpose of common political ideals and social as well as national harmony, let us not give way to the whinnings of Quebec, where ceaseless intrigues against the constitution of other provinces are hatched, and from whence all the propagandism issues.[10]

In addition to Rondeau, there were other lesser known luminaries from Saskatchewan who helped to invigorate the Sentinel's readers. From Regina "A Regular Subscriber" sent in some principles, which, if adhered to, "would make Canada the best country for a white Protestant to call his home." Prominent in the enumeration were, "A pure Anglo-Saxon race of high-minded, honest, industrious, law-respecting, God-fearing citizens" who furthered the cause of Protestantism; one flag, separation of church and state, restrictive immigration, public schools and English language instruction.[11] From Willow Bunch, "Subscriber" advised the editor that the local French Canadian priest wanted to drive out English-speaking residents. The priest allegedly informed the proprietor of the hotel that he must dismiss his Scotch chambermaid and employ a French one instead. The cleric then went to the local merchants and told them that they must have their draying done by a French Canadian. The English-speaking treasurer of the municipality was dismissed after thirteen years of "splendid service" because he had been an active worker to have a United Church established in Willow Bunch. Furthermore, French ratepayers were refusing to incorporate the hamlet into a village.[12] For his part, J. N. Boddy of Blaine Lake placed an advertisement for a Protestant doctor, stating the town's regular physician had gone to Scotland for post-graduate work and that a French Canadian had taken his place.[13]

The Sentinel also felt duty bound to expose the unwarranted spread of bilingualism especially when it affected the West. In a special from Regina, the journal reported that the French language was being given first place on Post Office forms. It reproduced a registration form that was being used in the West as proof that the government was "forcing the French language to a position of preference over the English language." The

Sentinel declared that the French were using their strength in Parliament to make encroachments and that their ultimate aim was to dispense with English on official documents as soon as the time was deemed propitious.[14] As proof that this moment was imminent, the journal reported, a short time later, that an educational meeting at the Saskatoon Normal School was opened by the singing of "O Canada" and, to add insult to injury, this pseudo-anthem was sung "IN FRENCH." The fact that the provincial Minister of Public Works and other government officials were present was evidence that French Canadian propaganda had won the support of government.[15] Concerning the issuing of a bilingual postage stamp, the Sentinel declared that Postmaster-General Veniot, without consulting Parliament, had forced upon Canada "an innovation that was repugnant to the whole English-speaking population." It was another aggression which indicated that the French leaders wished to dominate the country. French Canadians accepted this bilingual stamp as yet another victory over the British and as another step towards their ambitions of making every federal department bilingual.[16] After examining these and other Catholic menaces to Protestant liberties, the Sentinel concluded that the concentration of Catholics in Quebec provided the leaders of Romanism with the resources necessary to carry out any machination beneficial to Catholicism in Canada: "If the Cardinal at Quebec and his advisors decided upon an attack on any particular province, it would be possible to organize it at a day's notice." The only way Protestants could hope to successfully resist the designs of Rome would be through the creation of a Protestant federation that would co-ordinate patriotic efforts.[17]

The Sentinel regarded immigration as another menace to the British Protestant character, and it was not unnatural for the editor to detect the wily hand of Rome behind a plot to flood the country with non-Anglo-Saxon peoples. The journal printed the comments of a concerned Anglo-Protestant in Montreal who argued that Quebec was trying to control Dominion policies in an attempt to conquer Canada for the papacy. To achieve this end, the French leaders had allied with the anti-British elements -- Austrians, Poles and Irish -- in an attempt to control the Department of Immigration and prevent British Protestant immigration.[18] After more research on the subject, the Sentinel was able to cite a speech by Henri Bourassa as proof that papal policy controlled the destiny of the West. For more than twenty years Roman influence had prevented the western provinces from securing their full provincial rights. The control of the natural resources of these provinces had been withheld, as a result of the influence of the Quebec hierarchy, in an attempt to wrest school concessions from them and maintain the iniquitous system of separate schools.[19] The journal also revealed that twenty-two Catholic priests in Montreal drew $36,890.84 in salaries from the Department of Colonization for the year ending March 31, 1925. The cost of maintaining the Montreal agency was $110,346.25 whereas only $15,872.38 was spent on the Toronto agency during the same period.[20]

Nearer to home and therefore more menacing to Westerners, were the exposés of actions perpetuated by pro-Catholic immigration forces in Saskatchewan. In its May 5, 1927 issue, for example, the Sentinel reported a "well-authenticated rumor" that the Catholic dominated Department of Immigration was planning to settle no less than 1,500 Catholic families in five years in the area between Lloydminster and Vermillion. The land was some of the finest in the Dominion and the area was strongly British in sentiment. Present settlers felt that the proposed newcomers would not conform to the standard of living of those already settled there nor would they co-operate with the present residents in their social activities. The journal declared that the "colonization of new settlers on a racial and religious basis should be discontinued if British ideals are to be maintained."[21] In a special from Melville, the Sentinel declared that the province was being flooded with immigrants from Poland and central Europe. Melville was to be a distribution point for these people and 300 had arrived already. A Protestant resident who was interested in the identity of the newcomers made a thorough investigation and found that there were only three Protestants among them. He then went to Regina where 3,000 others had arrived and were being cared for until places could be found for them. He discovered only seven Protestants in this large group. The editor remarked that not only were the immigrants overwhelmingly Catholic, they also belonged to races that were difficult to assimilate. This presented a disturbing problem to those in the West who believed that Canada should receive "an influx of higher type citizens from the British Isles."[22] In the event that such disclosures had not been sufficient to arouse indifferent Protestants, the Sentinel drove the point home by announcing that 12,000 foreigners as compared to 2,000 British had been settled in Saskatchewan in 1926. It would not be long before foreigners would overwhelm the English-speaking settlers.[23]

Immigration was also an important subject of discussion at the 1927 annual convention of the Baptist Church in Saskatchewan. Speakers referred to the "Catholic menace" when discussing the Department of Immigration's policy of employing twenty-five Catholic priests and only two Protestant clergymen as immigration agents. The rôle of the Catholic clergy in the immigration field was viewed with alarm, and one delegate expressed the fear that the franchise in the West would soon be controlled by a Catholic majority. It was stated that Saskatchewan and other parts of the West were being flooded with Catholic immigrants brought in by the influence of the "moneyed Catholic interests."[24] Reverend M. L. Orchard, Superintendent of the Convention Board, declared that when Protestant clergymen wrote to the Department for information concerning localities where persons of their persuasion could settle, they had difficulty in obtaining an answer. A Catholic priest, however, experienced no problems in securing that information.[25]

Immigration in turn attracted the attention of the Saskatchewan Synod of the Anglican Church in 1927 which drew up a memorial for presentation to the General Synod. The memorial drew attention to the fact that twenty-five Catholic priests, one Anglican priest and one United Church minister were employed as immigration agents, whereas the 1921 census listed 3,000,000 Catholics in Canada and a combined membership of over 4,000,000 Anglicans, Presbyterians and United Church. In view of these statistics, the Saskatchewan Synod called upon the General Synod to request that the Minister of Immigration "take steps to rectify this inequality" and that this action be taken with the chief councils of the Presbyterian and United Churches.[26]

With the approval of Bishop G. E. Lloyd, Canon Burd of Prince Albert introduced the memorial at the sessions of the General Synod in Kingston a few days later. He stated that Catholic priests were located in all the strategic points in the West and that they were devoting their efforts exclusively to placing immigrants. He reported that they were so sure of themselves that they had publically announced their schemes, boasting that next year the foreign influx would be greater than ever before. Undoubtedly enlightened by the Sentinel, Burd went on to complain that an effort was being made to make Saskatchewan bilingual. He claimed that until recently all federal government forms were in English but that now they were being printed in English and French. He declared that people had been instructed to use French in their correspondence with government departments and concluded his remarks by urging that an end be brought to the preponderant immigration of persons of one faith.[27]

Canon Armitage of Saskatoon remarked that he was ignorant of the government's actual policy but that he knew they were bringing in foreigners who were turning into Sinn Feiners. He declared that British women had to pass an examination before they were admitted to Canada whle foreign women were allowed to enter without such an examination. He went on to state that present immigration policy was dictated by the Catholic Church. Whole settlements of returned soldiers "were being surrounded, out-voted, and out-numbered and eventually driven out."[28] Dr. H. A. Moore of Halifax doubted whether Canadian officials were sympathetic with British ideals, the promotion of British immigration and Empire trade. Colonel G. E. Saunders, a Calgary police magistrate, stated that British born immigrants were being deliberately left out while Germans and central Europeans were being brought in and that these groups were making fine recruits for Communism. He claimed that 48,000 Hungarians had recently been brought to the West and that newspapers had suppressed that fact.[29]

The memorial of the Synod of Saskatchewan was discussed by a committee and presented in the form of a resolution asking that a deputation wait upon the government and requesting that equal facilities be accorded to the Anglican Church and other denominations engaged in immigration work. Bishop Lloyd moved a resolution asking that a quota be adopted and that foreign immigrants should not be allowed to exceed fifty per cent of the British born. He declared that western Canada was becoming an unsuitable place for bringing up British children. Worse yet, foreigners were openly boasting that it was too late to make the West British.[30]

Replying to charges made by the General Synod, the Minister of Immigration, R. Forke, stated that his department had only thirteen French Canadian priests on staff. Furthermore, they were not employed as immigration agents but as repatriation and colonization agents. The services of another half-dozen priests had been used at various times in the past but they had received no salary, only travelling expenses. He affirmed that immigrants were selected on the basis of "mental, moral, physical and industrial fitness" and not religion, and that in 1926 only thirty per cent of immigrants were of the Catholic faith. He refuted references to the recent arrival of 48,000 Hungarians by stating that only 8,761 Hungarians immigrated in the sixteen month period prior to July 31, 1927. Forke went on to state that there was no difference in the examination that British and continental women underwent, except that British women receiving passage assistance were required to undergo a medical before leaving the British Isles.[31]

While Lloyd and the Anglican Church were maintaining the immigration issue before the public, Rondeau continued to keep the interests of nativists fixed on convent public schools by his prolific writing on that topic. In the pages of the Sentinel, for example, he reiterated earlier pronouncements concerning the amalgamation of the convent and public school in Saskatchewan, claiming that Jews and Protestants had vainly protested against the blatant sectarianism of that school. He claimed that

Protestant children were succumbing to the saintly smiles of nuns, their suggestions and flatteries. This was an intolerable situation in public schools and, even worse, it was taking place with the assistance of the Minister of Education who co-operated with the Catholic Church by placing sectarian books in the public school. "How long, O Lord, how long?" asked an impatient Rondeau.[32]

In a small pamphlet entitled The Gravelbourg School Situation and Its Effect Upon School Administration in the Province, Rondeau gathered and elaborated the themes he had enunciated many times in the past. He argued that the purpose of separate schools was to divide the population and oppose free government and popular education whereas the public school was "the school of the common people; the source of popular knowledge and popular freedom." The separate school was the bulwark of the Catholic Church while the public school remained the unifying force in national life and the "rock upon which free governments are built."[33] He stated that Protestants objected to sisters teaching even if they were qualified because their vows made them the "tools" of their order. Nuns had ceased to be ordinary persons and became "ecclesiastical persons" and as "consecrated agents of Rome" they could not be expected to perform the rôle of public school teacher.[34] Rondeau stated that the Protestant minority in Gravelbourg had been advised to erect a separate school but refused because they were opposed to the dual school system, their numbers were too small to maintain a separate school, and the right to erect a separate school did not diminish the responsibility of the Catholic majority to keep sectarian influences out of the public school.[35] He was convinced and quick to warn that the Gravelbourg experience was but one aspect of a larger plan to subvert Anglo-Saxon liberties in the province:

> We affirm that the object of these peculiar majorities is to wipe out the identity of the Common School. When the "trek" is sufficiently strong from Quebec, New England and Belgium; when farm-buying and centralization are sufficiently accentuated, the 150 French centers in Saskatchewan will duplicate Gravelbourg one hundred times; for Gravelbourg is only one of similar conditions in other parts of the province.[36]

Closely allied to the question of sectarianism in convent public schools was the matter of the alleged bias in the reader used for the French course of study. Rondeau had publicized this issue in one of his numerous articles in the Sentinel in which he cited a letter from a "prominent" Gravelbourg citizen, W. J. Robertson, to the Minister of Education. Robertson could not understand why the Magnan reader had been placed in the hands of Protestant children in public schools. He claimed that the text was nothing more than a Catholic handbook and he asked whether the Minister could have the book withdrawn and, failing that, how he, as a concerned citizen, could have this done.[37]

The controversial Magnan series of readers had been adopted in 1925, and after complaints had been received concerning the objectionable nature of certain lessons, the Degré Inférieur reader was discontinued as an authorized text on June 30, 1927. Protestants objected strongly to two passages in this reader. One story dealt with the crucifix and its significance for Catholics, while the second, "Là où Jésus est," told the story of a prominent Protestant and his young daughter and their visit to a Catholic church. The little girl asked why a lamp was burning in front of the altar and she was told that it marked the presence of Jesus. The father and daughter then went to a reformed church where there was no lamp, and afterwards the little girl spoke only of the church were Jesus really resided. The father understood and decided to abjure even if it meant the loss of his position and fortune. The story concluded by stating that the family was poor as a result of the father's act, but that they were following the true teachings of Jesus.[38]

Robertson, who had been corresponding with the Department concerning the reader since April, 1926, later complained to Premier J. G. Gardiner that, despite its removal from the authorized list, the book was still being used in Gravelbourg. The Premier agreed that certain passages were objectionable and stated that it had been difficult to find a replacement and that it was impossible to have the text rewritten on such short notice. In the meantime, the government did not wish to discontinue the teaching of French until a satisfactory text had been obtained, and the Magnan reader was being used "because there is no other text book available at present from which to teach what is admittedly a part of the school work."[39] Not having received satisfaction from Gardiner, Robertson took the matter up with members of the Educational Council. He advised them that the teaching of French was not vital and that the reader not only taught Protestant children things that were contrary to their beliefs, but also things that were false. He did not consider the removal of such literature from the hands of Protestant children as too drastic a step to take. Robertson argued that speedier action would have resulted had the lessons taught that Jesus was to be found only in Protestant churches.[40]

In view of the difficulty of obtaining a replacement, the Department, in April, 1928, decided to approve the use of the Magnan reader until June 30, 1928. The two lessons which had been the subject of so much controversy were to be omitted.[41] After being advised of this fact by the Deputy-Minister, Mrs. L. Gamble of Trewdale charged that the Department forced schools to use the book because no other text was available or authorized. She claimed that the teaching of French was desirable but that it was "even more desirable that a text book and not merely a cloak for dogmatic principles be provided for such teaching." She concluded by stating that the whole reader was objectionable and controversial in nature.[42] For his part, Robertson claimed that if everything of a controversial nature were removed from the book it would be useless as a text. He went on to cite a few passages dealing with Catholic dogma to substantiate his contention.[43] The Magnan controversy ended in September, 1928, when the Department authorized a new series of readers and grammars for use in schools where French was taught.[44]

After more than a decade of acrimonious polemic over questions of race and religion, Saskatchewan was fertile soil for a super-patriotic institution that promised to invigorate old values and traditions and eradicate the evils facing the province. Given the nature of the debate, the frustrations of nativists battling against seemingly insurmountable odds, and the threat presented by indiscriminate immigration, it was not unnatural that the Invisible Empire of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan should establish itself in the province and enjoy a phenomenal success. In Saskatchewan the Klan, like other patriotic organizations formed in turbulent times, was essentially a counter-revolutionary movement against unwanted social changes. It was a last ditch stand by a desperate Anglo-Saxon rear-guard to preserve the alleged essence of a Protestant ideal and culture besieged by overwhelming alien forces associated with the 1920's.

There can be no denying that the Klan attracted the prejudiced and the bigoted, but it should be remembered that many Klansmen were not desecrators of Catholic churches, but very sincere individuals who were deeply concerned with the future of Canada as a part of the Empire and as a suitable home for Anglo-Saxon-Protestants. From their lips came the call, "God, Country and Empire," as they prepared to give battle to forces corroding the very essence of the nation as they conceived it. In the face of an apparently impregnable, monolithic Catholicism which magnified the fragmentation of Protestant sects, the Klan projected the hopes and image of a strong, militant pan-Protestantism bringing society back on the path of virtue and morality. To frustrated, insecure individuals, the millenium depicted by the Klan provided satisfaction for many desires and aspirations. For the lonely man, it provided a sense of association and participation in a cause that transcended the monotony of daily life. To unscrupulous politicians, the order was an instrument to mobilize an otherwise indifferent public opinion and attain political power. One American historian has described the K.K.K. in terms of an "outraged citizenry" participating in "a gigantic police line-up to identify the enemies of society."[45]

Originally an organization formed in the United States during the period of Reconstruction, the Klan first came to Canada in September, 1921, when organizational activities were begun in Montreal. The Knights later formed branches in New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba, British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan, "the scene of the Klan's greatest impact in Canada."[46] In late 1926, three Klan organizers, L. A. Scott, his son, Harold, and Hugh F. Emmons, arrived in Regina where shortly before the New Year, a pamphlet entitled Why I Intend to Become a Klan Member was distributed widely. The pamphlet outlined the objectives of the order and provided a post office box number where interested persons could address inquiries.[47] Advertisements were later placed in the daily press announcing the Klan's public lectures: "The Ku Klux Klan. What is it? What is it doing here?"[48] A later ad called attention to the order's grand open air spectacle in Moose Jaw, and an invitation was tendered to Masons, Orangemen, etc., to join the Regina branch of the British Israel Association of Canada on a special train to Moose Jaw. E. W. Painter, secretary of the Regina branch of the British Israelites, stated that the Klan's methods and objectives were worthy of being accepted and supported by every Protestant minister and Christian. He went on to describe the order as a "great and glorious movement, which is law abiding and Anti-Nothing except Anti-Wrong."[49]

Before packed audiences organizer H. Emmons described the Klan as "the greatest, Christian, benevolent, fraternal organization in the world." Amid loud applause he declared that under the order's influence, every man in Saskatchewan who did not respect the Union Jack would be deported to his native country. He placed himself on record as favoring only one language and that was English.[50] At another meeting in Regina, Emmons replied to charges that the Klan was anti-Catholic by stating that it was pro-Protestant and therefore Catholics could not join because they owed their first allegiance to the Pope. The K.K.K. was a Christian organization and, consequently, Jews could not join. A Negro, however, could join if he were first painted white. In the event that some in the audience were still not convinced of the order's aims, Emmons went on to state that Canada was a great white man's country, and that the Klan favored restrictive immigration so that the Dominion would no longer be the dumping ground of the world.[51] Speaking before an estimated 8,000 people at a widely publicized open air rally in Moose Jaw, the vice capital of Saskatchewan, Emmons hinted that his life had been threatened when he came to the city but that, nevertheless, he was bringing his family to live there. He stated that he was ready to die for the Klan and that he had instructed his wife not to bury him but to have the skin removed from his body, tanned and used for a covering for a drum which would bear the order's emblem. In that way he could continue after death "to travel in the forefront of the Order, leading others in the true way to God."[52] After hearing this unselfish declaration, the Reverend T. J. Hind stated that his own life should be taken instead, because Emmons was doing more noble work in promoting the aims and objectives of the Klan in the province.[53]

Even more electrifying were the revelations of the former Catholic seminarian turned Protestant lecturer, J. J. Maloney, who declared before Klan audiences that never in twelve years had he been forced to retract one single statement concerning Catholicism in addresses to over "two million people in six provinces." In his quasi-memoirs, Rome in Canada, Maloney cited an impressive but, nevertheless, dubious list of authorities to substantiate his assertions on Catholicism: Dogmatica Theologia, Moralis Theologia, Conway's The Question Box, Perry's The Instruction Book, Gibbon's Faith of our Fathers and Butler's Catechism. To this he added eighteen years of training in Roman schools, seven years of associating with priests as an altar boy, and his experience in visiting 2,500 Catholic homes on behalf of the Catholic Extension Society.[54] As a result of experiencing Romanism first hand, he was able to make startling revelations before Protestant audiences. He described the Jesuits, for example, as "secret, highly educated Political Priests" who were in reality "secret politicians first of all" who commanded the functioning and secrets of the Dominion. All government departments were in their control, even in Britain where the Foreign Office was under their domination. In Ottawa, the Papal Legate presided over every commercial and government appointment made in Canada. Some of his other gems of wisdom were not so explicit and had to be accepted on the basis of an act of faith, the theological preserve of Catholics.

> Rome is a mystery. They have not answered the Roman Catholic woman at Dinsmore, Saskatchewan, who asked why there are no red-headed priests.[55]

In the course of a public address, it was not uncommon for Maloney to discuss the various aspects of Catholicism including such intangibles as transubstantiation and purgatory and to challenge prominent Catholic clergymen to debate the substance of Catholic beliefs. It was not unusual for the lecturer to digress from his chosen topic and inform the audience of the numerous, but unsuccessful, attempts of papal agents to silence him by nefarious means. Maloney also casually let it be known that he was the confidant of those in high places. In discussing the Mexican situation before a Klan meeting in Regina, he said that he had received a letter from the President of Mexico stating that the Catholic Church had controlled Mexican education for 400 years and that eighty per cent of the people were illiterate as a result.[56] In a radio broadcast two weeks later, Maloney emphatically denounced the tenets of Catholicism, declaring that confession and the dogmas of the Catholic faith were unnecessary and he cited several passages of Scripture to support his affirmations. Furthermore, he declared that the Catholic faith was man-made and that it had been detrimental to the progress of mankind.[57]

The fact that Maloney and other lecturers considered it was not their duty to prove the existence of insidious Catholic practices, but only to denounce them before sympathetic audiences, led them to make the most incredible of accusations. In Nokomis, for example, Maloney delivered "The Jesuit Lecture" in which he credited the Jesuits with placing Wilfrid Laurier in power by trickery and later defeating Arthur Meighen by the same methods.[58] In a three and one-quarter hour address in Wilkie, he charged the Catholic Church with commercializing the sentiments of the heart and claimed that wherever Catholicism was in the ascendancy poverty followed. As an indication of the Church's wealth, Maloney hinted that the Grey Nuns had one billion dollars more property wealth than the C.P.R.[59] In Kerrobert, he discussed the question of celibacy and argued that nuns should not be locked up and denied the "joys of motherhood." He went on to disclose that the Church had 82,000 orphans and 62,000 nuns, many of whom would never rejoin society. He went on to reveal that in one eastern city there were 30,000 nuns locked away and in that same city there were 8,000 houses of ill repute. He concluded with an impassioned plea: "Oh Rome, let them come out. Let them give significance to the words, 'Let your light so shine.'"[60]

These statements and Klan propaganda in general appealed to ultra-Protestants and, in turn, confirmed their worst suspicions of Rome, its reprehensible practices and tactics. On the other hand, the Klan's fundamentalism attracted numerous Protestants who feared that their traditional beliefs were being undermined by the acids of modernism. Fundamentalists were unable to reconcile their religious orthodoxy with progress and were convinced, for example, that higher criticism of Scripture would degrade the figure of Jesus and bring about the destruction of Christianity. To such anxious people the Klan appeared as a revival of the militant spirit of the Reformation. It was only natural, therefore, that some Protestant clergymen felt duty bound to join the order while others offered it sympathy and support. W. Calderwood, in his study of religious reactions to the Saskatchewan Knights, examined the religious affiliation of ministers who joined the order: he discovered thirteen of the United Church's 408 clergymen, four of the Anglican Church's 151 Clergymen, three of the Presbyterian Church's 25 ministers, and one of the twenty-seven Lutheran ministers. Five other clergymen, one Pentecostal and four Baptists, also belonged to the Klan.[61]

There were, however, other Protestant ministers who were as eloquent and determined in their denunciations of the Klan as Rondeau was in praising it. In a sermon before a crowded congregation at Zion United Church in Moose Jaw, the Reverend E. F. Church attacked the methods of the Klan and stated that if he wanted to fight Catholics he would do so "as a gentleman, not shrouded in a white hood." He argued that there was little use in fighting people of any denomination who were law-abiding citizens.[62] Concerned with the growth of the Klan in his area, Reverend H. D. Ranns of Biggar informed Premier Gardiner that no discussion was permitted at Klan meetings and that the most "rash and extreme" statements were made concerning Jews, Catholics and foreigners. There was little doubt in Ranns' mind that the order would attempt to dominate the political and religious life of the province.[63] In October, 1927, the Reverend C. Endicott introduced a motion before the Presbytery of Saskatoon stating that the United Church was not supporting the Klan in any way. He pointed out that it did Protestantism little good to point out the minor flaws in Catholicism because if the Catholic clergy were guilty of certain faults, the same case could be made for Protestant ministers. For his part, the Reverend J. A. Connell of St. Thomas United Church described the Klan as "essentially vicious, non-Christian, non-Protestant and non-British." Endicott's motion was unanimously passed by the Presbytery.[64]

Like the Protestant denominations, the Saskatchewan press was divided on the subject of the Klan. The editorial position adopted by a paper tended to be determined by the previous political bias. Thus, large dailies and rural weeklies which had supported the Liberal party tended to adopt a negative attitude towards the order while Conservative journals enthusiastically supported it and its principles. Many rural weeklies displayed open support for the Klan and carried very sympathetic reports of its activities. Smaller dailies and rural weeklies maintained a neutral editorial position.[65] Of all the printer's ink devoted to the merits or demerits of the Klan, none is as refreshing as the penetrating wit found in the rural weekly press. The Maple Creek News, for example, reflected the average Saskatchewanian's lack of knowledge about the order when it was first organized:

> Having no private source of information, The News, in common with the average man in the street, believed that the pet aversion of the K.K.K. was Niggers, Chinks, Jews and Catholics. After hearing the Klan speaker in The Grand last Thursday night we now know that we must add Germans, Russians, Austrians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians and Liberals. S'death, the list grows more respectable.[66]

For his part, the editor of the Birch Hills Gazette was obviously not convinced by the pronouncements of Maloney and the Klan. Because of Maloney's background and training the editor doubted his fitness "to properly expound the Protestant cause." Some subscribers objected to the editor's attitude, and he found it difficult to believe that anyone could take offence with his comments even if he had seriously criticized Maloney. Citing the lecturer's statement "I speak the truth," and his comments that he had never been forced to retract a single word, the editor retorted:

> We should be pleased to have any defender of Mr. Maloney explain the difference between his attitude and that of the Vatican, with the doctrine of Papal Infallibility.[67]

The Klan's influence on Protestant denominations and the provincial press was secondary when compared to its impact on the political life of the province. The Klan's principles and objectives were more than religious but the Anglo-Protestant motif was dominant and inextricably linked to issues such as morality, good citizenship, law and order, and the preservation of British traditions. In Saskatchewan as elsewhere, the order became all things to all men. To anti-Liberal groups its assertions that immigration, bilingualism, sectarianism, graft and corruption were due to the actions of a government maintained in power by the Catholic Church and non-British elements, were the signal to begin a righteous crusade to attain moral and political reform. Nativists were drawn to the Klan's ranks as a result of its anti-Catholic, anti-foreign pronouncements. The order's stern views on morality and law and order obviously convinced many Moose Jaw residents, for example, that it was the instrument with which to eradicate rampant bootlegging, prostitution and administrative corruption. In Yorkton, the Klan informed city council of several open sores in the city, some of which were "A CHINESE DEN, A SO-CALLED CLUB, A POOL ROOM." Council was asked what steps were being taken to clean up the city and make it "pure as the flowers." The order insisted on improved conditions: "GENTLEMEN, It is near time to WEED THE GARDEN and DON'T Have mercy on the WEEDS."[68] In Regina, the Klan urged city fathers to enforce the curfew regulations to prevent those under fourteen years of age from roaming the streets and becoming juvenile delinquents.[69] To members of the frustrated Protestant minority in Gravelbourg and other French districts where the public school reportedly was contaminated by sectarian influences, the Klan promised redress by liberating the public schools from the confines of Catholic walls. To those who feared the continued encroachments of the French language in government departments and on official forms, the order appeared as a countervailing force to the special privilege ambitions of French-speaking politicians. Hard working Anglo-Saxon citizens who felt threatened by the massive immigration of non-British stocks could find comfort in the Klan's declarations for selective immigration. Thus by 1929, with the Klan elaborating on the multifaceted evils facing the province, a large number of concerned, anxious citizens accepted its leadership and stood ready, like Christian soldiers, to do battle for God and Country.

The advent of the Klan provided a new lease on life for the moribund Conservative party. The principles of the Klan were not significantly different from those of the ultra-Protestant element which dominated the Conservative party and gave it its nativist platform. The order also embodied the patriotic aspirations of organizations like the Orange Lodge which traditionally were allied to the Conservatives. Thus in the Saskatchewan *milieu*, the Klan became the super-patriotic organization, *the* Protestant crusade which attracted all shades of discontent and which co-opted existing nativist associations. Under the direction of expert organizers, the K.K.K. was able to spread quickly across the province. The success of the order lay in the fact that it was able to associate all the evils afflicting the province with a French Catholic plot to subvert Anglo-Protestant liberties. Conservatives and nativists had said as much before, and the Klan not only capitalized on these previous declarations, but more important, it was able to present its case more convincingly to a gullible public. It was one thing to denounce the sectarian designs of Rome and Quebec before the annual convention of the S.S.T.A., for example, and then remain silent until the next reunion. For the Klan this lengthy interlude did not exist, as night after night receptive audiences heard "awful disclosures" of French Catholic intrigues by the most eloquent and experienced of speakers. The plots were simplified, magnified and embellished to the point where they evoked a strong emotional response as credulous listeners readily co-operated in creating the world in the same form. The conspiratorial myth provided relief from anxiety and frustration and, hence, it was strongly adhered to and defended, becoming the point around which perceptions of political reality were organized.

While the Klan revitalized Conservative forces by taking up issues which they had first raised, the appearance of the order, in turn, presented a dilemma to that party. A Regina Conservative, W. R. Reilly, informed R. B. Bennett that the Klan was making matters uncomfortable for the Liberal administration and the Catholic Church. He argued that it would be foolish for Conservatives not to profit from the order's activities since the party owed few thanks to the Catholic Church which was responsible for keeping it in opposition. On the other hand, Reilly stated that the Klan would be short-lived and Conservatives should avoid entanglements: "It would be fatal to condemn the Klan and it might be as dangerous for the future to commend it."[70]

As a matter of fact, Conservatives attempted to straddle the fence and derive as much benefit as possible from the Klan's activities but stopping short of any formal connection. Individuals, however, were free to do as they pleased and prominent Conservatives joined the Klan and served on its executive. Dr. W. D. Cowan, M. P. for Long Lake was the Klan's treasurer and he informed Bennett that the order was "the most complete political organization ever known in the West." He stated that every Klan organizer was a Tory and that he never paid grits.[71] J. F. Bryant appeared in court on behalf of Klansmen on at least three occasions. Bryant admitted to Bennett that the Klan would be of great assistance in defeating the government and added that Conservatives should not denounce an organization that was giving them such strong support.[72] For his part, M. A. MacPherson, a distinguished lawyer, claimed that the fact that ninety-five per cent of Catholics voted Liberal and that the Church had "staunchly backed" Gardiner made it easy for Conservatives to justify their membership in the Klan.[73]

More incriminating, however, were affidavits signed by former Klan organizer Emmons during his trial for misappropriation of funds alleging that, while the Klan had been organized as a "Christian fraternal association," Anderson, Cowan and Dr. Smith of Moose Jaw took control from him. Emmons alleged that they had constantly bothered him with political matters in an attempt to have the Klan involved in politics. Emmons' secretary, C. Puckering, also signed an affidavit reiterating these allegations.[74] Anderson referred to these accusations as a "deliberate premeditated lie prompted by the Liberal machine." He claimed to having often been maligned since entering public life, but that Emmons' statements "were the most striking example of perverted political thought" that came to his attention. Anderson was convinced that Emmons had consulted with members of the Liberal machine in Regina and it had been decided that he should mention his name at every opportunity in court.[75] Bryant, on the other hand, was more realistic and he informed Bennett that he did not like the contents of the affidavits: "I had no idea that Dr. Anderson had so little discretion."[76] As leader of the federal party, Bennett was undoubtedly aware of the repercussions which would accompany the disclosure that a provincial party was associated with the Ku Klux Klan. He wrote to Anderson and stressed the necessity of exercising the greatest possible care to avoid being involved and to make it very clear that he was not a member of the order. If as Anderson had stated, the allegations were "a lie of the worst kind," Bennett claimed that proceedings could be taken against the authors of such statements and indicated that such litigation would have a salutory effect.[77] Anderson had indicated that affidavits were being prepared proving Emmons and Puckering had lied, but these documents apparently were never drawn up.[78] Furthermore, it is worthy to note that while Anderson denounced Emmons, he never denounced the Klan then or later in the 1929 election where it played an influential rôle in defeating the government.

The fact that there was no conclusive proof linking the Conservative party to the Klan did not obscure the fact that it was the Conservatives who were in a position to benefit from Klan activities and propaganda. This point was not lost on Gardiner in August, 1927, as he advised Mackenzie King that the main object of the Klan was to spread propaganda which would assist the Opposition provincially and federally at the next elections. The Klan was active in every center where an Orange Lodge existed and the Premier stated that leading Orangemen-Conservatives were declaring that the Catholic Church was controlling the activities of the provincial and federal governments.[79] Mackenzie King replied that Gardiner could not do better than to expose Klan tactics "as quickly and as completely as possible."[80]

Five months later, on January 30, 1928, Premier Gardiner censured the Klan and its activities during the Debate on the Speech from the Throne. He denounced the order for spreading racial and religious prejudice in the province and claimed that Canada did not need an organization which tried to hide the identity of its members behind a hood. Gardiner said the Opposition had called upon all elements opposed to the government, and if that was the type of co-operation desired by the Conservatives, the K.K.K. was certainly the place to obtain it.[81]

There is no doubt that Gardiner's denunciation was as sincere as it was courageous but it was, nevertheless, highly inopportune. It served to attract attention to the Klan and enhance its popularity among nativists. More important, however, was the fact that his remarks made a political issue out of the Klan. M. A. MacPherson informed Bennett that the Premier's "unprovoked and unnecessary" attack provided a tremendous impetus to the order and that, consequently, a large number of Klansmen undoubtedly attended the March, 1928, Conservative convention as delegates.[82] For its part, the Sentinel affirmed that Gardiner's statements had not only brought public attention to the order but also attracted thousands to its ranks: "It has thus become a formidable factor in the politics of the Province for the preservation of Protestant rights, and a powerful influence against Roman Catholic aggression.[83] At a public meeting in Regina attended by 2,000 people, Klan organizer J. H. Hawkins said that the order practised conservatism but there was a point beyond which conservatism became cowardice. The time had come when the Klan would no longer permit people to attack it without retaliating. Referring to Gardiner's statements, Hawkins drew attention to an empty chair in the front row which had been reserved for the Premier but which was vacant, and then proceeded to refute his declarations in the Legislature.[84] Hawkins had been preceeded by Rondeau who reviewed the school law in a two hour address "submitting many cases in which he alleged the law respecting the teaching of French and religion was being flouted." He claimed that discrimination against Protestants had been introduced into the school law and that the Klan wanted the removal of sectarianism from public schools.[85] Maloney later told a Regina audience that Gardiner had insulted every member of the Klan who was a Liberal and that between sixty-five and seventy per cent of Klansmen belonged to that party. Furthermore, he stated that six or seven Liberals were members of the Klan's executive. Maloney affirmed that he was a Conservative and would remain one so long as that party supported the principles he believed in. A loud applause greeted his declaration that he would continue to stand by the party that stood strong for the British connection.[86]

Gardiner's comments stimulated others to make their views known in the press. Emma Wilson of New Westminster advised the editor of the Western Producer that the Premier would do better to examine reasons why the Klan came to Saskatchewan. She argued that the order was similar to organizations which sprang into being when people lost faith in constituted authority or when influential minorities received privileges detrimental to the interests of society as a whole. She claimed that if Gardiner's motto was "Equal rights for all and special privileges to none," the Klan would die a natural death. If not, it would continue to thrive despite all the invective hurled against it.[87] This letter prompted Ap Maesyfed to offer his comments on grievances in Saskatchewan. He cited as an example the insidious propaganda found in the Magnan reader. He warned that Catholics were relentless in their methods; they were "like the time and tide, always on the job," while Protestants were sleeping. He claimed that the methods of Catholics smacked of the dark ages and that they would use force to bring Protestants to their way of thinking.[88] The secretary of the British Israelites, E. W. Painter, seconded Maesyfed's comments and declared that the Klan was doing great work and that it was justified by the results. He claimed that Nehemiah in the Old Testament had organized a K.K.K. reformation and had "much the same experiences as the Klan is passing through in Saskatchewan."[89] In Saskatoon, the Reverend W. S. Reid of Third Avenue United Church had welcomed the Klan to his church as he took issue with the doctrines of Catholicism. A member of the congregation reported that Reid was treading on dangerous ground in his sermon, and that he held out a sheet of paper to demonstrate that he was not trembling with fear. He described Reid as "a real man," "a real Britisher," "a real Christian with the courage of his convictions" and reminded readers that Christ, "the greatest democrat the world has ever known, was murdered for having the courage of his convictions."[90]

While the Klan's opposition to Catholicism was well known and publicized, its views on bilingualism were also made known with equal vigor. At its 1927 convention, l'Association des Commissaires d'Ecoles Franco-Canadiens (A.C.E.F.C.) had attempted to resolve the perennial scarcity of qualified bilingual teachers by asking the government to institute methods courses in normal schools for teachers of French.[91] The resolution was innocuous and would have contributed to eliminating many of the controversies surrounding the exchange of teaching certificates with Quebec as well as increase educational standards in French districts. The Klan, however, was quick to protest against any such departure in teacher training. Premier Gardiner was informed by the King Kleagle that the order would oppose the enforcing of bilingualism in Saskatchewan by every constitutional means:

> The Klan stands for Unity among Canadian people, and we do not want this part of Canada divided by language into warring elements as is found in other parts of the world. We stand for the enforcement of law as made by our legislatures, and we do not want to have to be a party to the enforcement of a law which in our view can only divide our people.[92]

Shortly thereafter, Gardiner and Latta were besieged with petitions protesting against the implementation of the A.C.E.F.C.'s resolution. The majority of protests were from letters circulated by the Klan and Orange Lodge. Some letters were obvious forgeries since eighteen acknowledgements were returned unclaimed and one individual returned his with the following comment: "Know nothing about this matter."[93]

The Sentinel reported that the French Canadian resolution for bilingual teacher training was followed by the most vigorous opposition ever faced by the government. The protests were so numerous that French Catholics would have a more difficult time than they previously had and, as a consequence, they were incensed. For the first time, the French were on the defensive, "so they are considerably sore." A reaction had definitely set in, and if the struggle were maintained at the same level of intensity, the Sentinel predicted that the end was in sight.[94]

The Sentinel's enthusiasm was shared by Rondeau who felt that there was an awakening in Saskatchewan against "unheard of privileges" granted to French Canadians in educational matters. The most iniquitous "amendment" was that of 1926 which made it possible for French-speaking teachers from Quebec to come to this province without having to comply with the regular requirements for a teaching certificate. Rondeau claimed that since then, Quebec teachers had been flowing into Saskatchewan and, in the schools where they taught, French language instruction exceeded the limits stipulated by law. These special privileges were making French Catholics bolder and they were presently placing crucifixes in public schools under their control. He claimed that the large Klan meeting at which he spoke on February 16, 1928, in Regina, was but the beginning of a great awakening: "Never, since twenty-two years, has the public been so deeply stirred upon the school question of this province."[95]

The Sentinel also felt the tremors of this Protestant renaissance and it redoubled its efforts to expose French and Catholic conspiracies and thus ensure that the child it had helped to father would not be stillborn. The April 26, 1928 issue, for example, complained about the "unjust school laws" of Saskatchewan especially the School Assessment Act, which allegedly favored the separate school at the expense of the public school. The Act was referred to as an "indefensible piece of legislation" that had to be amended to correct an anomalous situation. Three months later, the Sentinel reported that conditions in Saskatchewan public schools were worse than at any other time in the province's history. The School Act was being flagrantly violated and this was being done with the passive consent of the Department. Matters had gone so far that only heroic measures could bring about reform. The Orange Lodge had inaugurated a movement to impress upon the government the necessity of loosening the Papacy's grip on the public school. The public had been asked to protest and, according to the Sentinel, the response was so great that Gardiner deemed it necessary to postpone the provincial election for one year in the hope that the agitation would diminish.[96] The September 6 edition revealed that grade eight exams in Saskatchewan favored the French side. Students, for example, had been asked to write on the fierce attack of the Globe on the race and religion of French Canadians. Similar biases were evident on questions dealing with the North-West Rebellion, and the Sentinel concluded that these questions placed all the blame on the Dominion government in order to justify Riel's actions. The editor remarked that nothing better could be expected from the present government of Saskatchewan.

In the meantime, the S.S.T.A., at its 1928 convention, indicated that it had no intention of remaining outside the mainstream of this awakening. A large majority of the 1,200 delegates flatly rejected a resolution asking that the Department permit schools that had qualified teachers the privilege of teaching foreign languages at least one half hour a day.[97] The motion had been sponsored by a delegate from Gruenthal School District No. 4714 who stated that trustees in his district wanted German taught in school. O. G. Hopkins of Annerley declared that the matter had been dealt with at the 1918 convention when it had been decided that only the English language would be taught in schools. He described the present resolution as the thin edge of a wedge.[98] As could be expected, a resolution requesting that English be the only language of instruction in public schools was carried unanimously. The Trustees also unanimously carried a resolution calling upon the Department to remove immediately the Magnan reader from public schools. The book was described as containing religious teachings contrary to the School Act and the Protestant faith, and that it was to be removed even though a suitable replacement had not been found because French was not a "vital subject in the work of the school."[99]

The various facets of the educational controversy in turn stimulated ample discussion at the fourth Saskatchewan Conference of the United Church in June, 1928. Reverend B. Glover of Kindersley moved that a special committee be appointed to deal with the controversial French reader. The six member Committee was chaired by the Reverend E. H. Oliver and included Rondeau. Oliver reported later that overtures and other documents received by the Committee indicated three areas of complaint: an objectionable French textbook; the presence of crucifixes and religious garb in areas where the Protestant minority was compelled to attend sectarian schools; and the use of convents and other church buildings as schools.[100] The Committee invited Premier Gardiner, as Minister of Education, to present a statement of policy on the issues involved. On the subject of the French reader, Gardiner stated that because of the small number of students using the text, it had been impossible to have a special one published. Controversial sections had been de-authorized and every effort was being made to secure a suitable series for the fall term. Referring to crucifixes, the Premier stated that in areas where complaints were made, his department insisted that they be removed. In instances where complaints were made against the presence of nuns, trustees were advised to employ lay teachers. He made it very clear that the crucifix-garb controversy affected only eight or ten of the 4,776 school districts in the province. Turning to the matter of religious buildings, Gardiner declared that there were no more than six districts where disputes arose over property used for school premises. In Gravelbourg, part of the convent was being rented by the school board on five year leases which had received the consent of the government. The Department, however, would not agree to the twenty year lease which the trustees originally sought. Quoting from Inspector Findlay's report, Gardiner called the convent, "a splendid plant," and "one of the best in Western Canada."[101]

Following the Premier's statements, the Committee on French books presented six resolutions to the Conference, and these were later forwarded to the government. The fifth resolution asked the government to amend the School Act "to require that all public schools be conducted during school hours in a manner strictly unsectarian." This last clause of the resolution was adopted on the motion of the Reverend A.W . Keeton of the Presbytery of Assiniboia who was a member of the Klan.[102] A sixth resolution asked that all parties, whether religious or political, refrain from using the public school to further their own ends.[103] During discussion on the fifth resolution, the Reverend Mr. Donnell of Saskatoon roused delegates when he stated that the blame for objectionable French books rested with the Protestant churches, especially the Presbyterian Church which had not taken any action when the question had first been brought up seven years ago. He argued that it was as a result of that neglect that they were "inflicted today with that damnable institution, the Ku Klux Klan." Donnell claimed that Protestants had only themselves to blame and that they should accept this fact and mend their ways.[104]

The relationship between the Klan and the United Church also occupied the attention of the Conference. The Presbytery of Saskatoon had already voiced its opposition to the order in 1927 with a resolution to the effect that the United Church was not supporting the Klan or its principles. Reverend C.Endicott of Saskatoon, who had moved the resolution before his Presbytery, declared that while many church members and some ministers were associated with the Klan, he was quite willing to state publicly that the Church had no relationship with the order. Others, however, stated that the motion should be dropped and no public statement should be made concerning it.[105] For its part, the Committee on References and Overtures, which had recommended the appointment of the Special Committee to investigate French books, now recommended that the Conference refrain from making any pronouncement on the Saskatoon resolution.[106] In his report on the Conference, the Reverend H. D. Ranns stated that a majority of clergymen and laymen present wished to shelve the issue in the interests of harmony and did not support the Klan.[107] On the other hand, the editor of the Creelman Gazette, stated that he was not a member of the Klan but, nevertheless, declared that Dr. Endicott and his sympathizers would do well to study the principles of the order:

> They are such that any man professing the name of Christian can have no hesitation in accepting it. It is, however, doubtful whether people blinded with bigotry such as these leaders of the flock, would be accepted in that organization.[108]

While the Klan and sectarian influences attracted the attention of the United Church, immigration continued to be a matter of particular concern for certain prominent Anglican clergymen in the province. Bishop Lloyd, for example, charged that the C. N. R. was flooding the west with families from non-preferred continental countries and that this policy was "denationalizing the western provinces."[109] On another occasion, he asked how long loyal Ontario would sit by and watch the British element being swamped. He argued that the Dominion had reached the point where hardly a Member of Parliament could be elected without the foreign vote and, in a short time, Members themselves would be foreigners "with a thin veneer of naturalization." Lloyd predicted that this would result in "South Africa all over again." He urged the government to make an effort to convince Britishers that they were really welcome in Canada.[110] Before an Edmonton audience he described German Catholics as a "menace" and diagnosed the alien as "the cancer of Saskatchewan."[111] On numerous occasions he denounced existing immigration policy and urged that a strict quota be placed on persons from non-preferred countries. He was not being facetious when he declared:

> No matter how much mud they sling at me, I am determined as far as it lies within my power that this country shall remain British and a part of the British Empire.[112]

Lloyd was supported by Canon W. L. Armitage, who told Saskatoon Orangemen that Protestants did not accept the Catholic religion because it was "not in the best interests of the Empire and the world." Protestants, on the other hand, had "a pure religion, not a religion that has produced a Quebec, Mexico or Spain." He asked whether the Minister of Immigration knew that Catholic priests were not devoting their full time to the repatriation of French Canadians but were using their energies and resources to transport French Canadians from Quebec to Saskatchewan and Alberta. He claimed that the government never answered these questions because of the support it received from the Catholic Church.[113] Canon Burd of Prince Albert declared that he would be derelict in his duty if he did not speak out against the danger of unrestricted immigration. He argued that if the proportion of central Europeans admitted to Canada remained constant, these people would submerge the British race and the control of the province would pass into their hands.[114]

In the meantime, while the actual number of school districts where difficulties concerning language and religous emblems were encountered was very small, these grievances were accorded far more importance than they deserved as a result of the pronouncements of patriots and nativists. The teaching of French and the use of French as a language of instruction was governed by statute and penalties were stipulated for violations of those provisions. The presence of religious emblems and garb in schools, however, was not covered by statutory provisions and proved to be a more complex issue. When in 1915, an inspector first suggested the framing of a regulation prohibiting the presence of religious emblems and garb in public schools, the Superintendent of Education, D. P. McColl, questioned its advisability because it would also apply to sisters attending high schools and normal schools. McColl claimed that it would be regarded as an arbitrary act on the part of the Department and lead to serious complications.[115] During Martin's administration, the government had considered such a regulation, but Martin felt that it might not accomplish the desired effect. He had no objection to religious emblems in French Catholic school districts. In mixed districts where the Protestant minority took objection to the presence of these emblems, boards were to be advised to remove them in the interests of harmony.[116] Premier Gardiner himself had no strong opinions one way or another on the matter of nuns teaching in public schools. He confided to a school inspector, however, that he would have more hesitation about confiding his children to many teachers in Saskatchewan schools than to any of the sisters who were presently teaching in the province.[117] Gardiner did not believe that an amendment to the School Act was necessary to eliminate difficulties. In the event that the Department received a complaint, boards were advised to remove any "decoration" which might create misunderstanding between ratepayers in the district.[118]

While nativists might question the veracity of Premier Gardiner's statements before the Saskatchewan Conference of the United Church to the effect that only a handful of school districts were involved, no self-respecting patriot could doubt the statistics put forth by the Grand Orange Lodge. In 1928, the Lodge had appointed a Special Committee to Consider Infringements of the School Act. The following year, the Committee reported that it had worked with county masters and had received only two reports of infringements. Both cases had been dealt with and the Committee felt that its duties were ended and asked that it be discharged.[119] Departmental statistics compiled on April 6, 1929, for the province's 4,840 school districts clearly demonstrated that the nativist case was based on passion and emotion rather than concrete facts. Only 153 of the 8,500 teachers were nuns and they were teaching 7,081 of the province's estimated 225,000 pupils. Furthermore, there were only 117 Protestant pupils receiving their instruction from sisters. It is remarkable to note that in three urban centers where public schools were in operation, thirteen Protestant children were attending Catholic separate schools. Only one nun was teaching on a permit as compared to thirty-six lay teachers.[120] Charges concerning the alleged astronomical growth of Catholic separate schools were also not supported by statistics. From December 31, 1927, to December 31, 1928, the number of Catholic separate schools increased from 21 to 25, while that of Protestant separate schools doubled from four to eight.[121] Reports of inspectors in September, 1929, indicated that sixty-seven rooms in forty-one public school districts were in buildings not owned by the board. Of these, the Catholic Church owned seventeen buildings with thirty-nine rooms, but five Protestant church buildings also housed seven public school rooms.[122] In the Yorkton area, numerous allegations had been made that Ukrainians were anti-Canadian and that the Ukrainian language, grammar and history were being taught in public schools, and that these violations of the School Act were taking place with the knowledge of the inspector and the Department. A long-time resident of Yorkton and Rhodes Scholar, Charles Lightbody, conducted a personal investigation into conditions in Ukrainian school districts and found the charges to be entirely false.[123]

In normal circumstances, the government's policy of requesting that offending emblems be removed could have succeeded in resolving the small number of difficulties involving French Catholic school boards and the "harassed minority." It is quite apparent, however, that in southern Saskatchewan, where most of the controversies arose, there were individuals like Rondeau who had no intention of settling differences through regular channels and who, in conjunction with the Klan, sought to capitalize on these local issues. In 1927, for example, largely as a result of the instigation of the Klan, the Department began to receive an unprecedented number of protests complaining against excessive teaching of French and the presence of religious emblems in schools. The following year, these protests were transformed into legal proceedings against French Canadian trustees. In February, 1928, an information was laid against the three French-speaking trustees of the Moose Pond School District in Verwood, charging them with permitting French to be used as a language of instruction beyond the first grade.[124] The case became a prolonged affair as a result of an application by the defendants for a Writ of Prohibition to disqualify the presiding Justice of the Peace, W. O. Gunson, on the grounds that he was biased. The magistrate was in fact a member of the Verwood Klan.[125]

While this case was before the courts, an action was laid against the trustees of the Gouverneur School District charging them with permitting French to be taught for more than one hour a day.[126] There had been a series of protests from Anglo-Protestant ratepayers in the district complaining against the teaching of French and the presence of a crucifix in the school. The Department had sent an inspector to the district and later advised the board to remove the crucifix.[127] In the meantime, five Protestant ratepayers were charged with failing to send their children to school and they retained J. F. Bryant to defend them. In court, Bryant claimed that these children had been kept out of school because the French language was taught beyond the limits prescribed by law and because there were crucifixes in the rooms of the public school. He stated that if his clients were fined one cent "the right to place a crucifix in a public school was established." The two presiding Justices of the Peace, both of whom were Klansmen, dismissed the charges against the five ratepayers.[128] The entire Gouverneur controversy had apparently been resolved to the satisfaction of the Department before legal proceedings were initiated against the trustees.[129]

While other French Catholic schools were spared from litigation, they, nevertheless, were subjected to severe censure by Francophobes. Complaints against the teaching of French and English were received from the Bégin School District but a departmental investigation revealed that the charges were unfounded. The inspector, however, recommended the removal of an image of the Virgin to eliminate future grievances. In Gravelbourg, there were the perennial protests against the use of the Convent as a public school, but an inquiry revealed that the majority of Protestant ratepayers were opposed to the erection of a separate school and satisfied with the existing situation. Furthermore, the inspector's reports referred to the Convent as an excellent school. Malcontents in the Poirier School District, obviously aware of the expense and delays involved in legal proceedings, chose the more expeditious means of breaking into the school and removing the offensive crucifixes.[130]

For its part, the French Canadian community was unable to understand the rationale which motivated Protestants to regard the presence of religious emblems in schools as offensive. Advising a French district that it would be preferable to accede to the requests of the minority and remove the crucifix, the secretary of the A.C.F.C. remarked:

> Il est difficile de concevoir les raisons qui animent les protestants pour supprimer le crucifix de l'école. Se sont des chrétiens comme les catholiques. Ils reconnaissent Dieu comme leur souverain Maître et cependant ils ne veulent pas

> lui offrir l'hospitalité dans l'école où sa présence exerce une si bonne influence...On y met bien le portrait du Roi, d'un homme célèbre, etc., pourquoi serait-il mal d'y mettre celui du ROI DES ROIS?[131]

While French Catholics found it difficult to fathom the Anglo-Protestant mentality, they were fully aware of, and feared, the repercussions of the campaign directed against their schools. As a result of the "thorny" lawsuits, which the French suspected the Klan of having initiated against their trustees, parish priests in southern Saskatchewan advised the A.C.F.C.'s unofficial "inspector," le visiteur des écoles, to suspend his visits to schools in their parishes. The curés feared that the visiteur's presence would aggravate the situation and place his position in jeopardy.[132] In late 1929, the association's follow-up letter to the visiteur's report on the school contained the following caution:

> N. B. Comme cette lettre n'est pas officielle, il vaudrait mieux, croyons nous, ne pas la garder avec les archives et autres documents de l'école.[133]

French Canadians had good reason to fear, because the nativist crusade was having a great deal of influence on the province's Anglo-Saxon population. Many people, who attended a public address in Aneroid, believed the speaker when he declared that a grant of $12,000. per year was being paid by the government to support a public school in the basement of a convent in Gravelbourg and, furthermore, that non-Catholics were unable to visit the school.[134] Although statistical evidence tended to refute such incredible statements, the credibility of nativist allegations was not lessened because many were convinced, or came to believe, that a refutation was nothing more than Liberal propaganda. Al Wright of Saskatoon, for example, argued that Gardiner was hiding the truth of the school question from the people of Saskatchewan. He claimed that if

Conservatives tried to enlighten the electorate, the Liberals retaliated by calling them bigots. He declared that Conservatives were not slinging mud, they were appealing "to the fair-minded, as their slogan is equal rights to all and special privileges to none."[135] For her part, Mrs. R. Gorrill of Ponteix believed that Anderson was the only politician to come out with a clear-cut policy of educational reform. Under his leadership a greater degree of unity and harmony would prevail not only in the province, "but outside of it, because the influence of Saskatchewan, political or otherwise, is felt throughout Canada." She argued that the public schools must be training ground for harmony and unity and that nothing should be allowed to creep into the school system "to prejudice the minds and lives of Canada's future citizens as to race or creed."[136]

Thus, by 1928, it was evident that the anti-French, anti-Catholic crusade had gained tremendous momentum. This impetus was not so much the consequence of the outstanding issues themselves or the dramatis personae such as Rondeau and Bryant, it was due primarily to the skilful exploitation of existing ferment by the Ku Klux Klan. When it came to arousing the latent Protestantism of the population, the Klan and its organizers were unequaled in vigor or eloquence. The Sentinel was not altogether wrong when it compared the growth of the Klan in Saskatchewan to the development of the agrarian movement in that province.[137] It was the Klan which captured the imaginations of anxious men who listened to its challenge and responded by embarking on a righteous crusade to eradicate evil in its many forms. The Klan not only brought a new meaning to old Protestant fears but it also was responsible for introducing a new element in the struggle, the sense of urgency. Armageddon was imminent, the struggle against French aggression and Catholic domination could be postponed no longer. In denouncing the Klan, Gardiner made it a political force, and in that arena its staunchest ally would be the Conservative party. It was not so much the influence of the Klan as a patriotic organization that would benefit the Conservatives, but the sentiments and fear that the order played upon and in turn nourished and maintained in a state of near hysteria. Under a banner of patriotism, moral reform and regeneration, the Klan attributed the source of all evil to the Liberal administration of J. G. Gardiner and was able to unify discontent and provide it with a sense of direction. Although Conservatives denied any formal connection with the Klan, Conservatives and Klansmen both worked in conjunction and capitalized on the activities of the Anglican Church and other organizations such as the Orange Lodge which opposed Federal immigration policy because of its alleged denominational and racial biases. The Conservative party would not be tardy in trimming its sails to catch the prevailing winds in the province.

FOOTNOTES

[1] PAC, Meighen Papers, Anderson to Meighen, Dec. 28, 1925, 33344-345.

[2] Ibid., Anderson to Meighen, Jan. 18, 1926, 33351-353.

[3] Ibid., MacPherson to Meighen, March 23, 1926, 77357.

[4] Ibid., Anderson to Meighen, Jan. 18, 1926, 33352-353.

[5] Western Producer, Jan. 21, 1926.

[6] PAC, Meighen Papers, Official Hansard Report of Address by J. T. M. Anderson on the Budget, Jan. 13, 1926, 33410-412.

[7] Sentinel, Nov. 25, 1926.

[8] Ibid., May 26, 1927.

[9] Ibid., June 7, 1927.

[10] Ibid., May 25, 1926.

[11] Ibid., Feb. 24, 1927.

[12] Ibid., April 21, 1927.

[13] Ibid., March 29, 1928.

[14] Ibid., June 9, 1927.

15 Ibid., June 16, 1927.

[16] Ibid., Nov. 1, 1928.

[17] Ibid., May 17, 1928.

[18] Ibid., Feb. 9, 1926.

[19] Ibid., June 9, 1927. Bourassa's comments concerning the natural resources of Alberta were made on January 9, 1926. House of Commons Debates [hereafter cited as Debates], 1926, Vol. I, pp. 556-57.

[20] Sentinel, June 15, 1926.

[21] Ibid., May 5, 1927.

[22] *Ibid.*, June 9, 1927

[23] *Ibid.*, June 16, 1927.

[24] *Ibid.*, June 30, 1927.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Morning Leader*, Sept. 14, 1927.

[27] *Ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1927.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.* The total number of immigrants to settle in Saskatchewan in 1927 was 20,085. *Canada Year Book*, 1931, p. 181.

[30] *Morning Leader*, Sept. 21, 1927.

[31] *Ibid.*, Sept. 23, 1927.

[32] *Sentinel*, April 7, 1927.

[33] S. P. Rondeau, *The Gravelbourg School Situation and its Effect upon School Administration in the Province* (Woodrow, Sask: n.p., n.d.), pp. 15-16.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[37] *Sentinel*, April 7, 1927.

[38] L'abbé J.-Roch Magnan, *Cours Français de Lectures Graduées. Degré Inférieur* (Montréal: C. O. Beauchemin et Fils, 1902), pp. 134-35, 152-53.

[39] *Morning Leader*, Jan. 24, 1928.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] AS, Papers of the Rt. Hon. J. G. Gardiner [hereafter cited as Gardiner Papers] , A. H. Ball: Memorandum for Boards of Trustees and Teachers, April 3, 1928, 18543.

[42] *Western Producer*, May 17, 1928.

[43] Saskatoon *Daily Star*, May 31, 1928.

[44] AS, Gardiner Papers, A. H. Ball: Memorandum for Boards of Trustees and Teachers, Sept. 3, 1928, 6200.

[45] R. M. Miller, "The Ku Klux Klan," in J. Braeman *et al* (eds.), *Change and Continuity in Twentieth-Century America: The 1920's* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1968), p. 215.

[46] W. Calderwood, *op. cit*. p. 27. The definitive study of the Klan in Saskatchewan is W. Calderwood's unpublished master's thesis. Estimates of Klan membership ranged from 10,000 to 50,000. The order itself claimed to have 40,000 members. Calderwood's "cautious estimate" is 25,000 members (p. 146).

[47] *Patriote*, 5 jan. 1927.

[48] *Morning Leader*, April 17, 1927.

[49] *Ibid*., June 4, 1927.

[50] *Ibid*., May 23, 1927

[51] *Ibid*., July 4, 1927.

[52] *Evening Times*, June 8, 1927.

[53] *Ibid*.

[54] J. J. Maloney, *op. cit*., p. 9.

[55] *Ibid*., p. 57, p. 113.

[56] *Morning Leader*, Oct. 5, 1927.

[57] *Daily Post*, Oct. 19, 1927.

[58] AS, Gardiner Papers, Nokomis *Times*, May 10, 1928, 13569.

[59] *Ibid*., Wilkie *Press*, May 9, 1928, 13566.

[60] *Ibid*., Kerrobert *Citizen*, May 16, 1928, 13599.

[61] W. Calderwood, "Religious Reactions to the K.K.K. in Saskatchewan, *Saskatchewan History*, XXVI (Autumn, 1973), p. 108.

[62] *Morning Leader*, Oct. 3, 1927.

[63] AS, Gardiner Papers, Ranns to Gardiner, Aug. 24, 1927, 12038-039.

[64] *Daily Post*, Oct. 19, 1927.

[65] W. Calderwood, "The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan," chap. V.

[66] AS, Gardiner Papers, Maple Creek *News*, Nov. 1927, 13348.

[67] *Ibid*., Birch Hills *Gazette*, March 19, 1928, 13474.

[68] *Ibid.*, Yorkton *Enterprise*, March 13, 1928, 13473.

[69] *Morning Leader*, May 11, 1928.

[70] PAC, Bennett Papers, Reilly to Bennett, April 14, 1928, 25026.

[71] *Ibid.*, Cowan to Bennett, Jan. 16, 1928, 24885.

[72] *Ibid.*, Bryant to Bennett, May 31, 1928, 25113.

[73] *Ibid.*, MacPherson to Bennett, April 7, 1928, 24995-996.

[74] *Morning Leader*, May 10, 1928. After warrants had been issued for the arrests of Scott and Emmons on charges of misappropriating Klan funds, Klansmen met and decided to reorganize the order into a separate autonomous body, the Ku Klux Klan of Saskatchewan. J. H. Hawkins became its chief organizer. W. Calderwood, "The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan," pp. 46-47.

[75] *Morning Leader*, May 11, 1928.

[76] PAC, Bennett Papers, Bryant to Bennett, May 31, 1928, 25113.

[77] *Ibid.*, Bennett to Anderson, June 20, 1928, 25130.

[78] *Ibid.*, Anderson to Bennett, June 4, 1928, 25122.

[79] AS, Gardiner Papers, Gardiner to Mackenzie King, Aug. 23, 1927, (Pers. and Conf.), 8161.

[80] *Ibid.*, Mackenzie King to Gardiner, Aug. 30, 1927, (Pers. and Conf.), 8174-75.

[81] *Morning Leader*, Jan. 31, 1928.

[82] PAC, Bennett Papers, MacPherson to Bennett, April 7, 1928, (Pers. and Conf.), 24996.

[83] *Sentinel*, March 29, 1928.

[84] *Morning Leader*, Feb. 17, 1928.

[85] *Ibid.*

[86] *Ibid.*, March 20, 1928.

[87] *Western Producer*, Feb. 23, 1928.

[88] *Ibid.*, March 22, 1928.

[89] *Ibid.*, April 19, 1928.

[90] Saskatoon *Daily Star*, April 25, 1928.

[91] Patriote, 23 mars 1927.

[92] AS, Gardiner Papers, Scott to Gardiner, April 8, 1927, 12016.

[93] Ibid., IV 17(a), passim; Latta Papers, 21(1)(2), passim.

[94] Sentinel, June 23, 1927.

[95] Ibid., March 22, 1928. The exchange of teaching certificates was not regulated by statute but by departmental regulations.

[96] Ibid., July 12, 1928.

[97] Report of Proceedings of 13th Annual Convention of S.S.T.A., 1928, p. 137.

[98] Morning Leader, Feb. 24, 1928.

[99] Report of Proceedings of 13th Annual Convention of S.S.T.A., 1928, p. 148, p. 152.

[100] Morning Leader, June 5, 1928.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid.

[103] AS, Latta Papers, 53, Report of Special Committee Adopted by the Conference.

[104] Morning Leader, June 5, 1928.

[105] Ibid., June 4, 1928.

[106] W. Calderwood, "The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan," p.196.

[107] Morning Leader, June 4, 1928.

[108] AS, Gardiner Papers, Creelman Gazette, June 7, 1928, 13675.

[109] Saskatoon Daily Star, June 30, 1928.

[110] Ibid., June 12, 1928.

[111] Daily Star, Oct. 1, 1928.

[112] Morning Leader, Sept. 13, 1928.

[113] Saskatoon Daily Star, June 9, 1928.

[114] Daily Star, Nov. 27, 1928.

[115] AS, Education, E.3 (M) Memorandum for Mr. Ball, Private and Confidential, Oct. 27, 1915.

[116] *Ibid.*, Martin Papers, Martin to Drimmie, Sept. 15, 1919, 15244.

[117] *Ibid.*, Gardiner Papers, Gardiner to McCulloch, March 31, 1928, 12172.

[118] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 70, Gardiner to Foucher, April 3, 1929.

[119] *Report of Proceedings of 38th Annual Meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge of Saskatchewan*, 1929, p. 43.

[120] AS, Gardiner Papers, Blacklock: Memorandum for Mr. Gardiner, April 6, 1929, 6125.

[121] *Ibid.*, 6141.

[122] *Ibid.*, Education, File 35G.

[123] *Ibid.*, Gardiner Papers, Yorkton *Enterprise*, Sept. 21, 1928, 6026.

[124] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 69A. Summons for Defendant, Feb. 25, 1928.

[125] AS, Gardiner Papers, Members of the Klu [sic] Klux Klan, Verwood, 12492.

[126] *Ibid.*, No. 27 of 1928, Statement of Claim, 6089-093.

[127] *Ibid.*, Memorandum for Mr. Ball re Gouverneur S. D. No. 4557. June 16, 1928, 6085-087.

[128] *Morning Leader*, March 7, 1928.

[129] AS, Gardiner Papers, No. 27 of 1928, Statement of Defence, 6094-097.

[130] *Ibid.*, School Districts Where Language and Other Difficulties Have Been Incountered, 18524-527.

[131] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 60N, Morrier to Gobeil, 19 mai 1928.

[132] *Ibid.*, File 27A, Boileau to Morrier, 7 sept. 1928. Frustrated after numerous unsuccessful attempts to have the Department provide proper inspection for French classes, the A.C.F.C., in 1925, decided to appoint its own 'inspectors' in the form of *visiteurs d'écoles*. The association used the term *visiteur* because it never tried to obtain departmental authorization or recognition for its system of inspection. In the A.C.F.C.'s view, the *visiteur* visited schools; he was not an inspector but a friend whom French Canadians were happy to conduct through their schools and who profited from his presence by examining students on their knowledge of French. The position of *visiteur* was always held by a priest. R. Huel, "l'Association Catholique Franco-Canadienne de la Saskatchewan. A Response to Cultural Assimilation, 1912-34," pp. 179-80.

[133] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 27B, de Margerie to Durault, 2 déc. 1929.

[134] AS, Gardiner Papers, Boulter to Gardiner, Feb. 1, 1928, 12795.

[135] Star-Phoenix, June 1, 1927.

[136] Morning Leader, Oct. 12, 1927.

[137] Sentinel, March 29, 1928.

CHAPTER V

THE PROTESTANT CRUSADE

THE REGINA DAILY STAR AND THE ELECTION OF 1929

Saskatchewan was born in the midst of a controversy involving confessional schools. This controversy was to recur twice at precisely twelve year intervals. In 1917, the polemic focused primarily on the language question. In the face of the campaign for "English only," the French community had barely maintained its minimum need for survival as a viable cultural entity: French as a language of instruction in the first grade and one hour of French per day in subsequent grades. From 1917 to 1929, the language question subsided somewhat, while the alleged sectarian influences in public schools, especially those in French Catholic districts, came to the fore in the wake of declarations made by patriotic organizations, nativists, and Protestant clergymen. The appearance of the Ku Klux Klan and its anti-French, anti-Catholic platform heightened the polemic after 1925. While the language question would not become an issue *per se* in 1929, it would never be entirely separate from the religious issue, especially for French-speaking Catholics, and an attack on one would inevitably lead to an attack on the other, a fact which became evident in the columns of the nativist press.

The danger of renewed crisis over the school question had grown in the 1920's and would continue to do so until a climax was reached in the June 6, 1929, provincial election. The Liberals, traditionally sympathetic to French Canadians and those of foreign origin, were being hard pressed by the racial and religious antagonisms incited by the Ku Klux Klan. The Conservatives, always searching for an avenue to power, quickly capitalized on this growing discontent by refurbishing their patriotic platform and non-sectarian school banner. Since the Conservatives had never demonstrated any sympathy for the cultural aspirations of French Canadians or non-Anglo-Protestants, they stood to benefit from any censure the government received as a result of its educational policy. Dominated by a paranoid, nativist element, the Conservatives adopted a strategy designed to alienate Catholics and foreigners in the hope of appealing to the spirit of reform within the Anglo-Saxon population by means of a sensational campaign that simplistically attributed every conceivable evil to the government in power.

Other alternatives, however, had been open to the party. In late 1927, A. G. MacKinnon, a Regina barrister who was both a Conservative and a Roman Catholic, prepared a memorandum for R. B. Bennett outlining the dismal political situation of the party in Saskatchewan. There were no Conservative M. P's representing Saskatchewan and the party boasted only four members in a sixty-three seat provincial legislature. At election time, it was a well known fact that the Liberals could win a majority without too much effort. In assessing the result, MacKinnon was more astute than other members of the party who held Catholics and foreigners responsible for electoral defeats. He demonstrated conclusively that the lack of electoral appeal had resulted from a "distrust in the Conservative Party and its Leaders."[1] In analysing the causes of this distrust, he contended that the question of the foreign-born was the most serious problem facing the party. The Liberals had succeeded in making foreigners believe that their material success was due to the actions of the Liberal party and MacKinnon argued that Conservatives intensified such convictions with their frequent and violent denunciations of foreigners.[2] Turning to the matter of religious distrust, he stated that a large number of Catholics had tended to support the Liberals after 1905 although they had voted Conservative prior to that year. In the meantime, the party had done nothing to ensure the return of this group to its former political allegiance. As in the case of foreigners, Conservative policy and pronouncements had tended to alienate Catholics and MacKinnon cited the selection of Anderson as party leader and his behavior as good examples of unwise tactics. Catholics were suspicious of Anderson and many regarded his previous work in Ruthenian districts as proselytizing. Furthermore, he had made little progress in attempting to secure the support of Catholic leaders. MacKinnon also complained that many prominent Conservatives were not as moderate as they should be in expressing their views.[3] Bennett was also informed that the party lacked leading men among the French element. The French in Saskatchewan were influenced by the political situation in Quebec and MacKinnon claimed that a favorable reception in Quebec had its effects on Saskatchewan. The Saskatchewan clergy were largely French-speaking and although they did not take an active part in politics, their views were well known. He hinted that the influence of the French would diminish with the appointment of an English-speaking Archbishop and cited the example of Edmonton to support his contention.[4]

Having diagnosed the problem, MacKinnon went on to suggest a remedy. He argued, for example, that the party must have a sympathetic press before it could even hope to succeed. The daily papers were overwhelmingly Liberal and, on the whole, the rural press supported the same party. The lack of a party organ was also linked to the foreign problem because MacKinnon believed that the German language Der Courier did more harm to the party than all the weekly press combined. Through its editorials, Der Courier convinced Germans that Conservatives were not as friendly towards them as were other parties. To counter the influence of this journal among the foreign-speaking population he suggested that a Conservative German language press be established in the province.[5] In addition, it was crucial that Conservatives find leaders within the French Canadian element. A change in party leadership would improve the position of Conservatives in Saskatchewan among Catholics. MacKinnon felt that if matters were "handled wisely," the confidence of Catholics would be restored and a large number of them would return to the party.[6]

As federal leader of the party, Bennett was keenly interested in the status of the Saskatchewan Conservatives and initially he attempted to bring about a rapprochement between the party and members of the Catholic faith. Prior to the party's annual convention to be held on March 14-15, 1928, Bennett wrote J. J. Leddy, a prominent Catholic Conservative from Saskatoon, concerning out of province speakers for the convention. Bennett had selected two M. P.'s from eastern Canada, one of whom was F. P. Quinn, a Catholic. Bennett emphasized the point that Quinn was a Catholic and asked Leddy to pay "some particular attention to him" and see that he "meets the right people of your faith."[7] A few days before the sessions were to open, however, the chairman of the convention, F. R. MacMillan telegraphed Bennett and advised him that the addresses of speakers from the East had been cancelled. A "situation" had arisen in the province which made it advisable that no outside speakers address the delegates. MacMillan later wrote to elaborate and describe the "situation" as a scheme of co-operation between the Progressive and Conservative members of the Legislature.[8] In the meantime, J. F. Bryant had informed Bennett of the results of a meeting between Conservative and Progressive leaders to arrange a compromise for the next election. After three hours of deliberations, it had been decided to enter a Conservative candidate in fifty per cent of the constituencies and to let the Progressives run where they were strongest. A resolution would be presented at the forthcoming convention inviting the co-operation of the Progressive and Labor groups to defeat the government.[9]

While the presence of eastern Conservatives might have conceivably impeded attempts to collaborate with Progressives, it soon became apparent that there were more important reasons why the speeches of the two M. P.'s had been cancelled. The presence of the King Kleagle of the Klan and his secretary as delegates from Regina as well as that of the Klan's chief organizer, J. H. Hawkins, was an indication that something more than an alliance with opposition forces had been consummated. In addition to seeking a political alliance, the Bryant faction of the party was obviously making an all-out bid for nativist support. It was a shrewd calculated risk based on the assumption that Progressive and nativist support would exceed the loss resulting from Catholic and foreign alienation. The platform adopted at the convention reflected strong nativist undercurrents. The plank dealing with immigration, for example, called for an "aggressive policy" based on the "selective principle." The education clauses bore a marked resemblance to pronouncements of the Orange Lodge:

> (c) The revision of text books with a view to seeing that all text books with a denominational bias and with unpatriotic sentiments are kept out of the public schools of Saskatchewan.
>
> (d) That the School Act be amended to prohibit the use of any religious emblems in the public schools of

> the Province, where there are pupils or ratepayers of mixed religious denominations, and to prohibit the holding of the public school in buildings used for religious purposes except temporarily.[10]

After the convention had been adjourned, an elated Bryant quickly informed Bennett that it was "beyond all question the finest platform the Conservative party has ever had in this Province." The resolutions incorporated all planks which the party could "conscientiously" adopt from the Progressive platform, from resolutions passed at conventions of farmers, school trustees, and rural municipalities. He claimed that it was a comprehensive program which reflected the wishes of Saskatchewan farmers.[11] Bryant declared that the convention had exercised great care in handling issues dealing with religion and language. He admitted that the Klan and Orange Lodge had been very active at the sessions but that they had been kept in the background and claimed that he personally had stepped "on one or two zealots" who wanted to introduce motions in favor of national schools and English language instruction. Bryant affirmed that the resolutions concerning education met "with the entire approval of the Protestant organizations" and were acceptable to two of the three Catholic delegates who were present.[12] In an attempt to overcome Liberal propaganda and to make a bid for non-Anglo-Saxon support, Bryant stated that the convention repudiated certain statements concerning foreign voters that had been voiced by eastern Conservatives and "certain irresponsible individuals."[13] He informed Bennett that there was not one word in the entire proceedings that could "in any way embarrass our Conservative friends in other parts of Canada.

Bryant's enthusiasm and optimism, however, were not shared by all Conservatives. J. H. Hearn, a former federal candidate in Humboldt constituency, informed Bennett that the Klan was distributing a pamphlet at the door of the convention, and that it had been removed only after nearly every delegate had entered the hall and had had an opportunity to obtain this literature. There were rumors that convention organizers had made a deliberate attempt to have as many Klan members as possible accredited as delegates. Hearn could not substantiate this but he argued that it was rather striking that out of three hundred delegates, there were only three Roman Catholic ones. He asserted that the three Catholic delegates were able and efficient workers and supporters but that they were unacceptable to the party because of their religion. He reported that the Nominations Committee had agreed on J. J. Leddy as a member of the Advisory Council and A. G. MacKinnon as a member on some other committee. The report of the Nominations Committee was not immediately read to the convention but was deferred for several hours. After discussing the matter with Anderson, the chairman of the committee suggested to Leddy that it would be "inexpedient" for any Catholic to hold office. Hearn stated that Leddy did not give in and, as a result, opposition to his election was organized and he was defeated.[15] Furthermore, when the list of names was read to the convention, MacKinnon's was not read out and that of another individual was substituted. The only explanation provided by the chairman was that he "thought" he had read MacKinnon's name to the convention. Hearn warned Bennett of the repercussions in Quebec and other parts of Canada when it became known that the Conservative Party had allied with the Klan and informed Cathholics that they were not welcome or that it was "inexpedient" for them to hold office. According to Hearn, it would take the Conservative party in Saskatchewan twenty years to make up for the ground that had been lost at the convention.[16]

Hearn's evaluation was supported by a long-time Conservative, J. A. M. Patrick of Yorkton, who also informed Bennett of his dissatisfaction with the proceedings. He stated that there had been a Klan meeting in Saskatoon at the same time as the convention and that many Klansmen appeared to have attended both sessions. He noted that there had been a "marked effort" to keep Catholics out of office and off committees.[17] He also expressed his amazement that no federal representatives had been present, but he could well understand efforts to keep them away, especially a Catholic representative. It was Patrick's opinion that a large wing of the party had attached itself to the Klan and that this would result in a political disaster. He urged Bennett not to identify himself too closely with the provincial party as it was presently composed. He added that Anderson's picture had appeared in the Melville and Yorkton press and that his membership in the Orange Lodge was listed along with his educational qualifications. Patrick was not convinced that this was sound politics:

> With forty per cent of the people in this province foreign-born and twenty-five per cent Roman Catholic, and with the Conservative Party casting in its lot with only the Protestant English-speaking people, I cannot see much hope for us in the near future. I am afraid we have fallen far short of the traditions of the old Conservative Party.[18]

As could be expected both Leddy and MacKinnon made their views known to Bennett. Leddy stated that nothing could explain the "cowardly tactics" adopted when MacKinnon's name was deliberately dropped from the list of nominees by the chairman who had acted without consulting the other members of the Nominations Committee. He stated that the fraternal affiliations of the individual whose name was substituted for MacKinnon's might shed some light on the motive. Leddy asked Bennett to ascertain the extent to which Anderson and some of his colleagues were involved and the repercussions of that involvement on the party at the federal level. Leddy was apprehensive that it might "react fearfully" against the party.[19] For his part, MacKinnon informed Bennett that there had been no opposition to the two names from the southern part of the province that had been suggested for membership on the Advisory Council. When it came to the election of two members to represent the north, however, a number of other individuals were nominated in addition to the two that had been recommended by the committee. Leddy was asked to withdraw his name but refused and was defeated. MacKinnon declared that Anderson knew what was going on but would not or could not do anything to prevent it. MacKinnon mentioned that his own name had been dropped from the committee's report and another name substituted and that delegates had remarked later that they had eliminated Catholics from the executive. Fearing the effects of these manoeuvres on the party across Canada, he suggested that Bennett obtain information from a disinterested individual such as M. A. MacPherson.[20]

In the meantime, Anderson had also written Bennett assuring him of the great awakening in Saskatchewan as a result of the Saskatoon convention and Gardiner's attack on the Klan. The only reaction to the convention came from the fact that no Catholic had been elected to the provincial executive, a fact which Anderson described "as unavoidable as well as in some ways regrettable." He argued that Catholics had exercised great influence in Regina and now that this influence was in jeopardy, a few Catholic Conservatives were becoming alarmed. Anderson assured Bennett that it was not the Conservatives who were responsible for infusing religion into politics but Gardiner and his government.[21] In subsequent letters the provincial leader reiterated his contention that it was Gardiner and Uhrich who had introduced the matter on the floor of the

Legislature.[22] Anderson dismissed criticisms of those who complained to Bennett about the convention as "entirely unjustifiable and their presentation should not receive undue attention."[23] When Bennett informed Bryant that he was perturbed that Catholics had not received any of the fifty-seven appointments made at the convention, Bryant replied that the reason for the very small number of Catholic delegates was due to the fact that Catholics had not supported the party in Saskatchewan. According to Bryant, the party had "lost no ground whatever" from the fact that no appointments had gone to Catholics. Furthermore, he felt that the majority of delegates had no confidence in Catholic representatives on the executive, and believed that Catholics were there to prevent action to "combat the privileges which were being granted to the Catholic Church by the Liberal Party."[24]

Bennett, in the meantime, acted upon MacKinnon's suggestion and asked MacPherson for a confidential assessment of the Saskatchewan situation. In his report MacPherson described Leddy as a loyal follower, and stated that the methods by which nominations were re-opened in order to defeat him suggested strong manipulation. MacKinnon's name had not appeared on the report of the Nominations Committee despite the fact that he had been advised previously that his name would be on it. MacPherson felt that such actions were a calamity for a party that had a great tradition for fairness.[25] The party was now aggressive and enthusiastic, but he warned that this enthusiasm was "purely Protestant and anti-Catholic." MacPherson predicted that the next provincial election would be fought largely along religious lines because the Catholic Church was consolidating against Conservatives. Despite his astute analysis of the political scene, MacPherson felt that Catholics themselves were to blame for what had happened because they tended to vote in a bloc "and our people said we have nothing to lose and all to gain."[26] For his part, W. J. Perkins, a Conservative supporter in Estevan, informed Bennett that he was no longer anxious to do battle for the party because there was a poisonous cloud on the horizon. He complained that an organization alien to Saskatchewan had gotten control of the party and that a religious test was being applied for membership on party councils. He argued that there was no cause for religious controversy in the province. The leaders of the party, however, regarded the religious issue as good strategy, "but to me and many others, their course seems suicidal."[27]

The views of moderate Conservatives like Perkins were denounced by Anderson as "false" and "absurd."[28] They were also emphatically refuted by Bryant, who claimed that Catholics controlled everything in Saskatchewan and that the people would no longer stand for it. He stated that Jesuit institutions were springing up everywhere as were the religious orders that had been banned in France. He could prove this by documentary evidence taken from their own records. He informed Bennett that when the French course of studies had been adopted he had written a letter in the press quoting a speech made by Archbishop Mathieu "and within three days I was called down to my office because it had been set on fire."[29] He asserted that Catholics did not want to respect the rights of the Protestant minority in French districts and that the Klan was strong because people would no longer tolerate the way in which Gardiner was playing into the hands of Rome and prejudicing Protestant communities. As an example of a French Catholic machination, Bryant cited the example of a French-speaking priest who came to his office and revealed that C. A. Dunning had called at the Bishop's Palace in Regina five times in ten days. The Catholic bishops in the West had been called in to look Dunning over with a view to making him Prime Minister. After Dunning went to eastern Canada, Mathieu travelled to Quebec and, upon the Archbishop's return to Regina, Bryant claimed the chancery issued a statement to the press stating that Dunning had taken the East by storm and that everyone wanted him as Prime Minister.[30] Another French-speaking priest had advised Bryant that he had been informed by Mathieu that arrangements had been completed to bring one hundred thousand French Canadians to Saskatchewan. Bryant in turn told Bennett that Gardiner would probably delay the provincial election until these people got the franchise. He also stated that the Catholic Church was devoting fifteen million dollars to finance this migration and that his source of information was "absolutely reliable."[31] These fantastic statements implied that Bryant had knowledge of some of the most closely guarded 'secrets' of the hierarchy.

From Prince Albert, T. D. Agnew, a long-time Tory, informed Bennett that the spirit which had moved the West to repudiate Tupper in 1896 was reawakened and the Protestant electorate was determined to overthrow Gardiner and his unbearable Romish influence. Agnew claimed that the Conservative party was the instrument with which to remove special privileges which were endangering the British connection. He claimed that "Quebec the conquered" wanted to enslave its benefactors, but that British citizens would not surrender a British Canada without a struggle.[32] Another Tory, F. J. Hoskin of Mossbank, advised Bennett that Quebec's position was too strong in the Federal government, and that this influence was being used to dictate terms favorable to the Catholic Church. He argued that it was necessary to curtail that power in some way and that Bennett could strengthen his position by drawing away from Quebec since whatever supporters the Conservatives had in that province were only spies for their church. The issues that were of vital interest to westerners were restricted immigration, natural resources and English in the post office.[33]

Not one to remain silent on a critical issue, the Reverend S. P. Rondeau stated that the time had come when the candidate for election "must declare openly and fearlessly whether or not he stands for the great principles that lie at the very rock-bottom of true Canadian citizenship as loyal Anglo-Saxons conceive it."[34] He advised Bennett that Anderson had recently been approached by a Catholic M. L. A. who asked what Conservatives intended to promise Catholics in return for their support. Anderson allegedly replied by sending him "below with his like" and declaring that such a request involved enslavement. According to Rondeau, this reply earned the provincial leader much admiration in certain quarters. Rondeau claimed that immigration policy was planned and implemented by the Catholic hierarchy whose ultimate plan was to consolidate Catholics in the Dominion. He argued that the person who accepted the Catholic challenge would be Canada's "strong man." Saskatchewan was in the grips of the tentacles of the Quebec octopus and the people had not felt such an awakening since 1905, and Rondeau asked: "Will the Conservatives fail to grasp the opportunity?"[35]

After the Saskatoon convention, it was obvious that the Conservative party would not disappoint Rondeau as it became totally committed to capitalizing on the anti-Catholic sentiment which the Klan had intensified. Klan propaganda had rendered the Conservatives an invaluable service, but an additional force was needed to turn the tide against the Liberals. The effectiveness of the Conservative effort in Saskatchewan was handicapped because the party lacked an organ to publicize its views and existing newspapers, especially the large dailies, tended to support the Liberals. Bennett was advised that in view of the present state of dissatisfaction in the province, a partisan press "would do a world of good to our cause."[36] Efforts to establish a party organ culminated in the incorporation of the Regina Daily Star Company in April, 1928, by C. F. Campbell, former British Columbia Liberal and prominent western Canadian newspaper publisher. Most of the company's capital was obtained from Bennett whose probable initial investment was $150,000. and whose holdings, as a result of subsequent advances, increased to more than $340,000.[37] Two Regina Conservatives, F. Sommerville and P. H. Gordon, were respectively vice-president and secretary-treasurer in the enterprise and also acted as trustees for Bennett's investment.[38]

The political monopoly over the press was broken on July 16, 1928, when the first issue of the Regina Daily Star rolled off the presses. The journal announced that a "large portion" of the people resented the manner in which the previous newspaper monopoly had "prevented the fair representation" of the political views and policies of those who previously had no means of expressing their ideas. As events were to prove, the Daily Star's editorials and comments soon made up for that period when those opposed to the status quo had no channel of communication. Shortly after it began publication, the journal issued a statement of policy:

> Frank, fair and fearless in its news and columns, offering with due modesty an honest and sincere opinion in its editorial columns -- this shall be the guiding policy of the REGINA DAILY STAR in its ambition to become in every way worthy of the city and district it serves.[39]

For his part, Senator A. B. Gillies of Whitewood informed Bennett that the public had been anxiously waiting for a newspaper to counteract the influence of the Morning Leader and other Liberal organs and that the new journal had been received with enthusiasm. He stated that the Daily Star was well edited and carried a dignified tone but felt certain that it was sure to "rise to the occasion when it is deemed advisable."[40]

A suitable occasion presented itself when a by-election was called for October 28, 1928, in Arm River constituency, a seat that had been held by the Liberals since 1908. The Conservative candidate was Stewart Adrain, Grand Secretary of the Orange Lodge who, on more than one occasion, had already affirmed his opposition to separate schools and bilingualism. He replied to the Premier's denunciation of the Klan by stating: "When Mr. Gardiner says he doesn't want the vote of a certain section in this province, I say I want the vote of all sections."[41] As the by-election drew closer, the Conservative campaign became increasingly nativist and it was given an unprecedented coverage by the Daily Star. At Penzance, for example, Anderson reiterated the canard that the Gardiner government was responsible for fomenting racial and religious strife. He claimed that schools were closed in some instances because trustees wanted a teacher to conduct the school in French. He declared, furthermore, that there were schools where inspectors could not enter without permission from the clergy. Anderson also cited the example of a grade five student, obviously the product of a French Catholic school, who was ignorant of the Union Jack and who the King and Queen of England were.[42] Taking his cue from the Sentinel, he claimed that grade eight exams in history and civics were "rank racial propaganda."[43] For his part Bryant, the Conservative nominee for Lumsden, stated that there was an insidious program going on quietly in the province to bring about French and Catholic political control. He declared that the government was fostering and encouraging bilingualism in Saskatchewan where the French minority was now claiming linguistic rights. There was a movement underway in Quebec to swamp Saskatchewan with French Canadians. According to Bryant, the future was dismal indeed:

> Within five years or ten at the most under present political conditions, Roman Catholics will be the majority in Saskatchewan, and the French will control the political destinies of Quebec, Saskatchewan and all of Canada.[44]

Speaking at Penzance a few days later, Bryant charged that knowledge of plans to give a nominal rate on the C. N. R. for 500,000 immigrants to be brought to the province under Catholic auspices had been suppressed by the government press in Saskatchewan to keep people ignorant of these manoeuvres. He stated that the eyes of Canada were on Arm River because of issues involved. The issues had been created by Rome and he thanked God for having given him the "clear vision" to see them as they really were and the courage to place them before the electorate. He claimed that the growth of the Klan was an indication that Protestants who realized what was going on were "eagerly enrolling themselves under the banner of that order in the hope that, by a concentrated effort wisely directed, they may yet save the day."[45] Speaking on the same platform with Bryant at Davidson, J. G. Diefenbaker of Prince Albert made a detailed analysis of the school situation basing himself on schools in his constituency where religious emblems and French as a language of instruction had been made compulsory in public schools.[46]

While the Conservatives were castigating Gardiner, Rome, and Quebec, the Klan proceeded to organize the constitutency and meetings were held in many towns and villages. In addition to other Klan spokesmen, Maloney was very active during the campaign. In Davidson, for example, he explained "Rome from the Inside."[47] At Kenaston, he borrowed a few of the apostate Chiniquy's favorite themes and disclosed the dangers of the confessional as well as the unnatural lives of priests and nuns.[48]

As a result of the publicity and propaganda, a large percentage of the electorate turned out on election day, and the Liberal candidate was returned by a margin of fifty-nine votes, a much smaller majority than that of previous elections. Bennett himself admitted that the outcome had been largely due to the Daily Star's "strenuous campaign" on behalf of the Conservative party. For its part, the journal was quick to editorialize that the Liberals had won but a "Pyrrhic victory" and that the opposition had taken on "new life and vigor." It warned that the fight against a debased, corrupt, prostituting administration was not over: "It has only begun."[49] Speaking at North Battleford after the election, Diefenbaker stated that he did not believe in bigotry but, that in the face of danger, it was "necessary to speak frankly." He then proceeded to reveal that all the school difficulties originated in Eorget where, after the appearance of a certain gentleman, lay teachers were replaced by nuns and a crucifix placed in school rooms. Furthermore, an altar was placed in every room, and Protestants were forced to send their children into such an environment.[50] Anderson, on the other hand, drew public attention to the fact that in one small poll at Lakeside, Catholics were working "hand in glove" with Gardiner. He affirmed that the Conservative party believed in a "square deal" and that it would not lower itself to solicit the support of individuals or organizations whose principles did not stress "the Union Jack and 100 per cent Canadian citizenship."[51]

There were others, however, who interpreted the issues differently. The Western Producer editorialized that the question of whether the Pope was going to invade the province "has no more to do with the real problem of Saskatchewan than the grading of wheat has to do with the Papacy."[52] Both as a Conservative and a Catholic, A. G. MacKinnon protested to F. R. MacMillan, president of the provincial Conservative Association, against the racial and religious attacks made by the party during the Arm River campaign. He argued that there were sufficient important political issues at hand without resorting to such tactics.[53] The president replied "most emphatically" and "absolutely" that no attack had ever been made by the Conservative party on any religious denomination nor would such confrontation take place. He stated that individual opinions might have been voiced but that these were personal views and not those of the party which had always been prepared to champion the rights of any minority. He added that the Conservative party would be just as ready to condemn any act of government that interferred with such rights.[54]

After it had risen to the occasion in the Arm River by-election, the Daily Star continued to support the Conservative cause with an evangelical fervor. In its October 19, 1928, issue the journal revealed that a Catholic priest had been studying conditions in Saskatchewan for ten months and that another contingent of Czechoslovakians was to be settled in the province. It also claimed that Saskatchewan was rapidly losing its British character as a result of massive, non-preferred immigration, and that the biological fact that the intermingling of the races would eventually degrade the people was being overlooked. If Canada were to avoid the tragic consequences of the indiscriminate immigration policy of the United States, something had to be done now, "for it will be no use trying to dam the river when the floods are let loose." The Daily Star was also concerned with the foreign vote which was cast "in total ignorance of national questions" because immigrants refused to learn English and adopt

British traditions. The predominance of non-preferred races was a source of danger for the population at large because their nationality, habits and mentality were the antithesis of everything British.[55] The journal also reported the views of prominent Anglo-Protestants on the immigration question. Dr. E. W. Stapleford of Regina College, for example, stated before a Kiwanis luncheon that if he had his way, immigration from central and southern Europe would be "excluded entirely." To avoid the problems presently facing the United States, he argued that Canada should select only "people who will live up to the honest, loyal and best traditions of the British Empire."[56] For his part, E. W. Painter, secretary of the Regina chapter of the British Israelites claimed that the British Empire was God's Kingdom on earth and that this explained the "Satanic intrigue" to disrupt and destroy British institutions, a plot which Bryant had described in a "timely, powerful and convincing address" in Penzance. Painter argued that if non-British gentiles did not wish to become covenant people by choice and adoption, they must return to their land of Moab. He believed that next to "God" and "Jesus Christ," the term "British" had the greatest significance in the English language.[57]

More significant than this general discussion, was the *Daily Star*'s revelation early in 1929 that a special conference had been held in Ottawa between Quebec federal ministers and members of the Catholic hierarchy from Quebec and Saskatchewan to arrange for the transportation of 250,000 French Canadians from Quebec to western Canada "practically at public expense."[58] When Premier L. A. Taschereau declared that he knew nothing about this unprecedented migration, the journal claimed that his ignorance was "abysmal."[59] For some inexplicable reason, the *Sentinel* had not been aware of this exodus until it had been publicized by the *Daily*

Star. The Orange organ naturally thanked its ideological colleague in Regina for discovering and revealing the "gigantic movement" to make Saskatchewan a second Quebec.[60] According to the Sentinel, the project caused Premier Gardiner to rejoice because this large influx would ensure his re-election. The editor predicted that the Anglo-Saxon element which had opened the West would be reduced to a minority and would have only those rights which a French Canadian majority was willing to concede. Once they controlled Saskatchewan by virtue of a numerical superiority, French Canadians would claim the western representation in Parliament and increase the power of a solid Quebec bloc which would then control the destiny of Canada.[61]

The Sentinel made up for its previous dereliction of duty by following up the progress of this insidious scheme. It revealed, for example, that the first contingent of 210 French Catholics had passed through Winnipeg on April 18 on its way to the Peace River region. It was part of the Church's plan to settle Catholics in those areas of Alberta which would give it a commanding political position. This status had been secured in Saskatchewan by settling French and European Catholic colonists in rural areas.[62] In a subsequent issue the journal stated that it would tax the resources of Protestant churches and British agencies to come to grips with the Catholic menace in the West. No time could be lost if the western provinces were to be saved from papal domination: "With the enormous financial resources available to the Church in Quebec, this great migration can be carried out with a speed that will be difficult to meet by other agencies."[63] Still later that same year, the journal disclosed how the 250,000 French Canadians would create political problems for the government of the western provinces:

> They will bedevil the Public Schools, if they can. If resisted there will be a cry of oppression and a demand for 'rights' that have no existence. And all the time the priests will be active opponents of any set of politicians who refuse to give them 'special privileges'. If there is any way to prevent them from locating in colonies, it should be done for the peace of the provinces.[64]

In the meantime, the Daily Star was not resting on its laurels, and the disclosures of the Sentinel undoubtedly encouraged it to conduct a more thorough 'investigation' into the papal menace from Quebec. The Daily Star was convinced that Quebec was dictating the terms upon which Saskatchewan and Alberta would receive control of their natural resources because Quebec had dictated the terms of their autonomy in 1905. The Federal government was controlled by Quebec bloc so the western provinces had to accept Quebec's terms or receive nothing.[65] Early in 1929, the journal disclosed that at a conference in Regina presided over by the federal Minister of Agriculture, it had been decided that the World's Grain Show to be held in Regina in 1932 would be a bilingual congress. Quebec, the only French-speaking province, was not a wheat growing province, and the Daily Star inferred that the Minister of Agriculture was preparing the way for the Quebec invasion which had already begun.[66] The journal also disclosed that early in 1929, English had been made subordinate to French on departmental forms at the Regina Post Office. Since the appointment of a French Canadian as Postmaster-General, steps had been taken to fill positions in the department with French Canadians by giving preference in appointments to people who were bilingual.[67] According to the editor, Quebec was "outraging history and the constitution by asserting the baseless claim that French is an official language in Canada outside the boundaries of Quebec."[68] Because the policy of according preference to bilingual candidates in the civil service had proven to be an effective means of promoting bilingualism, the Daily Star revealed that the militia would be Gallicized as well. It stated, for example, that after January 1, 1933, promotion to the rank of captain would not be made unless an officer was fluent in both languages on the pretext that this would avoid creating situations where French-speaking soldiers were under the command of English-speaking officers. The Daily Star, however, interpreted this as an attempt to reserve higher military ranks for French Canadians and reminded its readers that Quebec had not been noted for heavy enlistments in the last war.[69] Commenting on a clause in the R. C. M. P. Act stating that candidates must be able to read either French or English, the editor wondered whether the "Quebec powers which govern the Ottawa ministers" would insist that promotion within the ranks of the R. C. M. P. be denied to members who spoke only English. He remarked that Quebec was trying to do by regulation what Von Hindenberg failed to do by force, "--conquer the Canadian Army."[70] As further evidence of the Quebec bloc's attempt to force its customs and language on the Dominion, the journal cited Mackenzie King's announcement that Parliament would not observe a national holiday on May 24, Queen Victoria's anniversary. To add insult to injury, the Prime Minister had scheduled adjournment for May 9, Ascension Day, a church holiday in the priest-ridden province.[71] To prove that French was indeed the dominant language, the Daily Star reproduced a post office form used for notifying persons of the arrival of registered articles. Not only did the French language come before English on the form but the type used for the French captions was larger than that used for the English ones.[72]

In the midst of this nativist uproar, the school question was brought onto the floor of the Legislative Assembly by Anderson in the form of an amendment to the School Act. Before introducing the bill in the Legislature, Anderson had presented it, in the form of a motion, before a meeting of Conservative candidates and executive on January 19, 1929. The resolution, which was unanimously endorsed by the assembled Conservatives, declared that:

> the proper interpretation of clause F, being item No. 6 of the Conservative platform dealing with education, should be that the use of religious emblems should be prohibited in all public schools in Saskatchewan, and that the fair interpretation of religious emblems includes clerical garb of any kind worn by teachers.[73]

The difference between this resolution and the original clause adopted at the convention was that the former deleted the words "where there are pupils or ratepayers of mixed denominations." This qualification to the term "public schools" had been added at the insistence of Leddy, who sought to protect Catholic public schools in districts where a Protestant separate school existed. The qualification was apparently not in accord with Anderson's views and he had it deleted.[74] In advising Bennett of the amended version, Leddy commented that a "war of extermination" was imminent.[75]

Anderson had given notice that he would introduce an amendment based on the resolution, and on January 29, 1929, he moved second reading to Bill No. 46, An Act to Amend the School Act:

> 222 a (1) No emblem of any religious denomination, order, sect, society or association, shall be displayed in or on any public school in the province, nor shall any person teach or be permitted to teach in any public school in the province while wearing the garb of any such religious denomination, order, sect, society or association.[76]

When asked to explain the term "emblem," Anderson stated that it meant exactly what it said. He claimed that the amendment did not affect existing legislation concerning religious instruction, linguistic concessions or separate schools. The legislation applied only to public schools and its purpose was to make them entirely non-sectarian.[77] Gardiner expressed surprise at the brevity of Anderson's remarks in view of the discussions that had surrounded educational issues in recent months. Reiterating that the government's policy had eliminated grievances concerning the presence of religious emblems, the Premier remarked that the amendment did affect separate schools and that by distinguishing between separate and public schools, it would lead to the creation of more of the former.[78] Attorney-General T. C. Davis contended that the School Act already empowered the Minister of Education to issue regulations relating to religious garb and emblems. If a school board ignored such a regulation, the Minister could remove the board and appoint an official trustee to manage the affairs of the district.[79] As could be expected, the government's majority defeated the bill.

Despite this overwhelming rejection, the Daily Star praised the amendment as a "courageous and necessary step...in an effort to exterminate sectarian bitterness from the minds of the rising generation." It argued that the bill was of such crucial importance that the government should have sponsored it rather than leave the responsibility to a member of the opposition.[80] The journal declared that the amendment was not sectarian, and that both Catholics and non-Catholics welcomed it to free schools from clerical and party influences.[81] For its part, the annual convention of the Grand Orange Lodge endorsed Brother Anderson's attempt to counter the "hidden hand" that was attempting to destroy the public school system and deeply regretted that the Legislature had rejected the motion.[82]
Rondeau wrote in the Sentinel that presbyteries and Protestant minorities had become less troublesome since Anderson's motion, but that this silence

was only the calm before the storm. Never had so dark a cloud hovered over the Liberal camp, and he predicted that the forthcoming election would be a repetition of the Hoover-Smith campaign "though in a lesser degree." According to Rondeau, the electorate was determined to put an end to the blatant "Rome-ruled Department of Education."[83]

Educational privileges in turn became a prominent subject of discussion at the annual convention of the S. S. T. A. and the proceedings indicated that the association had not abandonned its views on cultural conformity. Gardiner's name was placed in nomination as honorary president of the association by R. H. Heane, a member of the executive who, as president of the Elbow Conservative Association, had been prominent in the Arm River by-election. The nomination was received by cries of "No! No!" from all parts of the floor. In the uproar that followed, a delegate rose and nominated the S. S. T. A.'s secretary, C. E. Little, who was also president of the Progressive Party. This recommendation was greeted by loud cheers and expressions of approval. Another delegate's objection to allowing Gardiner's name to stand was received by renewed cheering. Heane than asked permission to withdraw Gardiner's name and substitute Little's, which was unanimously accepted.[84] The Daily Star claimed that this rebuff was all the more significant because it was a spontaneous protest against a nomination put forth by the executive. Furthermore, the action of the delegates was easily understood following the censure of the government for rejecting Anderson's amendment. The journal claimed that the electorate would no longer support those who want "to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds" on the question of sectarianism in the schools.[85]

The unanimity of the Trustees was also reflected in their other deliberations. Considerable discussion followed the presentation of a resolution requesting that English be the only language of instruction in public schools. A letter from John Wilson of Hazeldell was read citing examples of schools where other languages were being taught. Another delegate stated that Canada was not a bilingual country and, therefore, bilingualism should be removed from Saskatchewan schools. A. Fredlund of Percyville amended the motion to include the words "and on the playgrounds of this Province."[86] Mrs. Gamble of Trewdale claimed that the privilege of French language instruction was being abused and that the English-speaking minority was being disregarded in French districts. This minority did not have the opportunity to learn English in schools because French had been made the language of instruction. The amended resolution was "carried amid great enthusiasm." A resolution requiring that every person nominated for office of trustee be able to read and write English was also carried.[87]

Having re-affirmed their views on the language question, the Trustees proved to be equally adamant in their opposition to the sectarian features of the educational system. One resolution dealt with the religious qualifications for membership on the Educational Council. It was argued that while existing legislation stipulated a minimum of two Catholic members, there was nothing to prevent the appointment of a full complement of five members of that denomination. Mrs. Gamble declared that priority should be accorded to securing outstanding educationists and that no consideration should be given to the religious affiliation of the members. The resolution requesting that the School Act be amended to include only one Catholic member was carried.[88] A resolution prohibiting the presence of religious emblems and the wearing of religious garb in public schools was carried unanimously. Following an announcement that it had carried, the delegates broke out in a wave of cheering and applause. The text of the resolution was identical to Anderson's amendment.[89] The delegates also carried a resolution asking that no representative of any religious denomination be permitted to enter or speak on religious subjects during regular school hours in public schools.[90]

The Daily Star claimed that the resolution for English only read like a chapter out of Gulliver's Travels and that it was a sad commentary on the state of affairs in rural districts: "It indicates the extent to which our British heritage has been bartered away by unscrupulous and power-hungry politicians."[91] For his part, the editor of the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix stated that the children of the foreign-born should not leave school without an adequate knowledge of English. He remarked that few people could disagree with the Trustees stand on the language issue. He added, however, that Canada was to a certain degree bilingual, and that this had been recognized in Saskatchewan's school law where French had been accorded a minor place on the curriculum.[92] The editor of the Western Producer argued that the provisions respecting French language instruction were so limited "that they could not be the cause of any serious condemnation if they were properly enforced." There were no serious problems which could not be resolved by the "exercise of patience, toleration and co-operation." Assimilation was proceeding at a rapid rate and the editor believed that attempts to speed it up by legislation which was difficult to enforce would only create more dissention and misunderstanding.[93]

In view of more than a decade of controversy and the heightening of issues by the Klan, the school question could not fail to assume major proportions in the June 9, 1929, provincial election. Nativists like Rondeau made certain that public interest in the cause of reform did not falter. Addressing a Klan rally in Saskatoon, he declared that all of Saskatchewan's problems and all "the sedition, plotting and plans against the national school system are hatched in Quebec." He accused Gardiner of having permitted Catholics to Romanize the public school as soon as they had obtained a majority in the district. Furthermore, the government had played into the hands of Rome by permitting teachers from Quebec to come to Saskatchewan.[94] From Prince Albert, T. D. Agnew informed Bennett that, to date, no Saskatchewan government had made an honest effort to right the wrongs of 1905. He argued that the matter went beyond the acquisition of control over provincial natural resources: "In order to regain our full provincial autonomy, WE MUST HAVE OUR EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS restored."[95]

Addresses by Conservatives prior to the calling of an election served to confirm and confine the limits of the polemic. Brother Nat Given, Conservative candidate for Rosetown, addressed a public meeting in Kinderesley on Catholic aggression and described how abominably the public school had been Romanized. He claimed that as a result of Protestant indifference, the papacy had become bolder and the Gardiner government was almost rendered servile to that foreign power. The Sentinel reported that although it was midnight before the speaker concluded, not a single person had left the hall and this demonstrated the interest of the audience in the subject.[96] In an address before the South Saskatchewan Conservative Association, Anderson declared that the Liberals countenanced and encouraged sectarian influences in public schools by laxity in administering school laws. He charged that as a result of the government's inaction and gross neglect, certain school districts in the province "were torn with dissention and the flames of discontent, dissatisfaction and mistrust have spread like a prairies blaze."[97] After receiving the Conservative nomination for

Prince Albert constituency, Diefenbaker categorically refuted allegations that Conservatives were intolerant. He argued that it would not be fair for Catholic children to come under the influence of Protestant ministers, and Conservatives asked Catholics to adopt the same attitude towards those of a different faith.[98] For its part, the Daily Star hinted early in the spring of 1929 that an election was imminent because the Saskatchewan Gazette had announced the establishment of special naturalization courts. The journal regarded these courts as another means through which the Liberals hoped to capture the foreign vote.[99]

As premier and Minister of Education, Gardiner was well aware of the tactics of nativists and his political opposition. Early in 1929, he advised Mackenzie King that the Conservatives were attempting to convince the public that some agreement existed between the governments in Regina and Ottawa which would be beneficial to Catholics in educational matters. Opposition propaganda was attempting to create the impression that the Liberal party was controlled by the province of Quebec.[100] The Premier admitted to Mackenzie King that the French and Catholic elements had co-operated to remove grounds for complaints. Directed by Archbishop Mathieu, they were doing everything possible to negate the propaganda of the Klan and the opposition.[101] In normal circumstances, Gardiner's liberalism probably would have convinced a majority of otherwise tolerant Anglo-Saxon voters that his pragmatic policy of resolving controversies involving religious emblems was by far the best solution. As a result of nativist agitation, the late twenties, however, were not normal times insofar as toleration and compromise were concerned, and the Premier had greatly underestimated the Klan's influence. The K. K. K. did more than simply proclaim or reiterate the opposition platform; it also alleged that the Liberal administration was under the domination of the Catholic hierarchy. According to Calderwood,

> what the Klan accomplished, in brief, was to tie together the issues of sectarianism, immigration, and natural resources with the single, simple argument of Catholic conspiracy on the one hand and the compliance of the Gardiner government on the other. The result was not so much the injection of a new issue into the campaign as the addition of a new dimension of emotional intensity to issues already present in Progressive and Conservative campaigning. The election campaign became an imbroglio of religious controversy, creating the distinct danger of a coincidence of political and religious conviction.[102]

As election day drew nearer, the Conservative campaign became more resolute. Reiterating his position on a non-sectarian school system at a rally in Aneroid, Anderson maintained that he would rather suffer defeat than waver "one iota" from his aim of giving Saskatchewan children "an education that would bind them together in the common bond of Canadian citizenship unhampered by sectarian divisions."[103] At Edenwold, Bryant declared that the government was determined to make Saskatchewan a bilingual province. He affirmed that a French school inspector had been appointed for French districts, that French readers had been authorized for use in public schools, that French teachers had been placed in normal schools and that departmental regulations were printed in French. He argued that the French were being granted special privileges in anticipation of the large wave of French Catholic immigration which, in conjunction with the province of Quebec, would "control Canada for all time to come in the interests of the Liberal party."[104] In Saskatoon, Anderson refuted Liberal statements that only a small number of school districts were involved. He declared that the menace of sectarianism was real and that the aggressions of a religious sect could not be halted too soon. He argued that Conservatives were not stirring up racial and religious strife but attempting "to bring to the consciousness of the people the danger which knocks at our gates."[105] He claimed, furthermore, that the party's selective immigration policy would prevent the dumping of thousands of people in Saskatchewan: "There will be fewer suicides under such a policy."[106]

The propaganda distributed under Conservative auspices reflected the nativist mentality of its authors. In Prince Albert constituency, for example, the Conservatives reproduced and circulated the Overture of the Presbytery of Assiniboia to the 1928 Saskatchewan Conference of the United Church describing the "growing menace that is invading the realm of our educational system" and denouncing the incompetence of the Department to deal with the matter. A statement was appended to the overture recalling Anderson's unsuccessful attempt to amend the School Act to prohibit the presence of religious emblems and the wearing of religious garb in public schools. The statement concluded with the following reminder:

> When casting your franchise, be not led astray by various last minute stories which are being circulated by Gardiner supporters. Vote for the Conservative candidate, J. G. Diefenbaker, if you believe in A PUBLIC SCHOOL FREE FROM SECTARIAN INFLUENCES.
>
> BY YOUR VOTE YOU WILL DETERMINE THE FUTURE OF SASKATCHEWAN'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS.[107]

Another broadside entitled "The 14 Points Before the Electorate in This Campaign" contrasted, among other things, the educational philosophies of the two parties.

> A Vote for Diefenbaker ASSURES:
>
> 5. The Public School free from sectarian influences as unanimously endorsed by one thousand School Trustees.
>
> A Vote for Davis MEANS:
>
> 5. Continuation of an educational policy breeding strife in the Province through the subjugation of minority rights.[108]

More reprehensible was the circular letter sent to Protestant Liberals in Souris constituency warning that they were being used by Rome, and that the government was controlled by Archbishop Mathieu. Protestant Liberals were urged to take notice of Gardiner's true motives and asked whether they or the Liberal candidate J. P. Tripp would

> like to have a black shirted "she-cat" of a NUN teach your children in a public school that you are a heretic and that you and your wife are living in sin and your family are bastards, then when chastising your child, to make it kiss the forbidden image, the crucifix. Think it over, old timer, and bring it home to yourself. Then I feel you will wake up. Better wake up before it is too late and we have a revolution, for as sure as you are alive, blood will be spilled if the Protestant people don't band together. If you believe in the faith of your fathers...you cannot vote Liberal in the next provincial election. IT IS NOT to be GRIT or TORY but sure and simply PROTESTANT VS ROMANIST.[109]

In Tisdale constituency, a voter named Mr. Tucker received three letters questioning his political beliefs. The first stated that he could not support the Liberal candidate, Moot Fritshaw, because he, Tucker, was a Protestant Canadian and wouldn't vote for a German, nor could he possibly uphold a Catholic government. He was also reminded that, with one exception, all of Mackenzie King's cabinet ministers were Knights of Columbus, and that if he didn't know what was going on, he should subscribe to the Freedman.[110] The second letter deplored the fact that Tucker still insisted on upholding a foreign government. Tucker appeared to be an intelligent man, but if he still persisted in giving Catholics and foreigners control over Anglo-Protestants, then looks were deceiving. He was also asked whether he needed a continental European to do his thinking for him.[111] The third letter expressed the hope that Tucker would be man enough to vote for "A Protestant" and not a German or a Catholic. He was to demonstrate, obviously by voting Conservative, that he was a Canadian and not "a pea-soup" or "a Bo-hunk."[112]

The Conservative cause was no doubt assisted by the *Sentinel* and its 25,000 Saskatchewan subscribers. In a "valued testimonial" Rondeau asked that the editor and his associates be given the "patience, wisdom and power" to continue their worthy task. Rondeau affirmed that the *Sentinel* went "straight to the mark; you uncover, you analyse, you comment, in a most convincing manner." Saskatchewan, more than any other province, needed the journal's enlightenment because it was there that the most "gigantic struggle" was being carried out against "the most corrupt government ever organized."[113] For its part, the *Sentinel* claimed that the Protestant and patriotic elements in Saskatchewan would be strong enough to defeat Gardiner if they united in defence of the public school, the only issue in the pending elections. The journal claimed that the political importance of Saskatchewan was not appreciated by Protestants. Catholics, on the other hand, realized that the future political status of Canada depended on the western province. Catholics wanted to make Canada into a great papal state; Rome already controlled Quebec and, as a result, eastern Canada was under papal domination. If Saskatchewan could be subordinated like Quebec, then the future of the Dominion lay in the hands of the Catholic Church. Consequently, the *Sentinel* warned, the pending elections had "larger significance than a provincial contest."[114]

In addition, Klan spokesmen, like J. J. Maloney, kept the public's attention focused on the school issue with a running series of sensational charges. Speaking before a large audience in Saskatoon, he created "a sensation" when he revealed that nuns were teaching in the Tramping Lake public school and, that in another school, Protestant children were being taught in the cellar of a Roman Catholic church by a teacher of that denomination.[115] In Purdue, Maloney stated that for two years the government had "utterly ignored" the protests of Protestants in districts where school controversies occured. Liberals, however, were now stating that they had resolved all school controversies. He concluded by denouncing the Liberal party as being ruled by Quebec.[116]

For his part, Bishop Lloyd, whom the Daily Star described as a life-long Liberal, urged voters to oust the Gardiner government because it was not a true Liberal administration. He stated that he had entered the campaign reluctantly because he had never taken a stand on political issues, "but there are times when every man who loves his country should speak out and that time is now in both federal and provincial matters." Lloyd declared, furthermore, that he would vote against Gardiner because the Liberal immigration policy was "non-British, if not anti-British;" because the government had been unfair in its administration of the School Act; because of the administration's "miserable conduct" over the objectionable Magnan reader; and because Gardiner and Attorney-General Davis had opposed Anderson's amendment to the School Act.[117]

In the meantime, Anderson informed Bennett that Catholics were beginning to realize that Conservatives were not the monsters of intolerance the Liberals depicted them to be. He claimed that he had been well received in southern Saskatchewan where there was considerable enthusiasm for the party. In his own inimitable style, Anderson stated that after an address to 150 people in Coderre, a traveller who had been present informed him that "'the nicest compliments I ever heard paid you were by Roman Catholics who attended your meeting.'" As an indication of the party's growing popularity, Anderson stated that at Hodgeville a French Catholic publicly declared his allegiance to the Conservative cause![118] While it is not known whether Bennett had any reservations concerning Anderson's leadership, any that he might have entertained were undoubtedly dispelled by a letter written by Rondeau, a copy of which was sent to the federal leader by Anderson. Rondeau had complimented Anderson on his "masterful handling of those fellows in the Legislature" and claimed that, in his humble opinion, Anderson's "judicious and most timely amendment" was "the most effective weapon" in the debate on the school question. Despite the fact that the amendment was rejected by a solid Liberal vote, the divine assured Anderson that "Gardiner will never be able to explain his erratic, unwise, unpatriotic attitude on that matter."[119]

In the event that Bennett still entertained doubts despite Rondeau's recommendation, F. R. MacMillan, president of the Saskatchewan Conservative Association, wrote to inform him that "tolerance and moderation in speech" characterized practically every Conservative candidate. He suggested, however, that Bennett write Bryant a "nicely worded letter" because, while Bryant was a good speaker, he tended to go too far, "thus losing some of the effectiveness of his address.[120] Bennett acted upon this suggestion and advised Bryant that it would be desirable to exercise great moderation vis-à-vis Catholics in the campaign. While Catholics probably would not support the party, Bennett deemed it important that Conservatives did not arouse religious passions for political purposes because religious animosity was not conducive to the best interests of the country nor did it assist the party.[121] Somewhat surprised, Bryant replied that what was going on in Saskatchewan was appalling to someone who knew the true situation. He claimed that an effort to submerge the province's British element had succeeded. Dr. Stapleford of Regina College had been delivering addresses on the immigration issue but Bryant had been informed that Father Bradly, S. J., superior of Campion College, had declared that Stapleford was too late to do anything because Catholics were already in control.[122]

In the meantime, the "independent" but decidedly Conservative Daily Star continued its remarkable disclosures of French and Catholic designs on the West to a reading public that obviously suffered from paranoia. There were other important issues in the campaign--immigration, the return of the province's natural resources, charges of corruption and machine politics--which the journal exploited but, throughout the campaign, issue after issue accused the Liberals of preying on the ignorance and religious fears of large segments of the population. The May 10, 1929, issue was devoted to Saskatchewan's "Papal Knight," Dr. J. M. Uhrich, Minister of Public Works, upon whom the Pope had conferred the Order of St. Gregory the Great. The Daily Star claimed that since the temporal power of the papacy had been recognized by the Italian government, titles conferred by Rome would have the same right to recognition as those granted by other foreign governments. Despite a resolution of the House of Commons against the granting of Canadian titles, the journal claimed that Uhrich had a valid right to be addressed as "Sir John" by virtue of his papal knighthood. Referring later to a plea for toleration made by the "Papal Knight," the Daily Star argued that he should place himself in the position of those whom he wished to reprove. He could do so by sending his children to be taught in an Orange lodge by a teacher dressed in Orange regalia: "Then his appeals for tolerance would have more cogency."[123] The journal also reiterated charges that racial and religious discord had been engineered by the Liberal government. It disclosed for example, that the ennumerator's private poll report indicated the voter's ethnic origin, as well as his religion and political beliefs. This fact, along with the government's refusal to prohibit the presence of religious emblems in schools indicated an attempt to exploit racial and religious feeling for political purposes.[124]

Not satisifed with information provided by local sources, the Daily Star also consulted the "Home-Loving Hearts" section of the Winnipeg Free Press to obtain the truth on conditions in some districts where English language instruction was "practically forbidden" under the Gardiner regime. A writer had complained to the Manitoba newspaper that people in his district wished to remain French and, as a result, his children were behind in school because they had to learn French. The Daily Star concluded that the crime of a man who sold his vote for a bottle of whiskey was small compared with that of Gardiner who bought votes "at the price of preventing young Canadians from learning the language of their country."[125]

The journal also revealed that at Gravelbourg, Protestant children were sent home from school wearing crucifixes around their necks and told that they could not get to heaven without them. The wife of a Protestant clergyman who was obliged to send her children to the public school stated that it took all her time to nullify the sectarian influences the nuns imparted to the children. In another French district, the Daily Star claimed that a nine year old Protestant girl had won a one dollar prize for efficiency but the teacher, a nun, had stated that the student must take the dollar to a priest and have a mass celebrated.[126] The editor also commented on the unsympathetic attitude of some departmental administrators. The Deputy-Minister, A. H. Ball, who was not renowned for his admiration of French Catholic educational aspirations, allegedly replied to a complaint that Protestant children were forced to bow before a picture of the Virgin by stating, "'Well, that's not hurting anyone, is it?'"

The editor stated that such a remark could have been excused had the person who had been forced to bow before the picture been an Orangeman or Klansman, but that Ball should have known that such practices obtruded on the sensitive minds of children.[127] In addition to printing editorials that severely castigated the government and gave wide coverage to the Conservative campaign, the journal also provided material assistance to the opposition cause in the form of hundreds of extra copies distributed to candidates and by sending two thousand issues every day to Saskatoon.[128]

As could be expected, complaints were made to Bennett concerning the editorial policy of the Daily Star. A. G. MacKinnon stated that religion had been the principal issue raised by Anderson, and he argued that the paper "had gone a long way to insult Catholics." The impression prevailed that Bennett was personally involved in the journal but, whether or not he was, MacKinnon was certain that he would not approve of its content.[129] Bennett replied that he did not read the paper himself although he had asked some of his friends to support it in order that Conservatives might have a medium in Saskatchewan. He had asked a friend who read the newspaper if he felt that attacks had been made on religious groups. Bennett's correspondent replied that no attack had been made on Catholics "although there had been a very frank discussion on the administration of the school laws."[130] Raymond Denis, president of the A. C. F. C., also complained about the Daily Star's derogatory comments on Catholics in general and French Canadians in particular. Denis stated that while the paper proclaimed itself independent, it was, nevertheless, regarded as the official organ of the Conservative party. He hoped that Bennett would use his influence on the Saskatchewan Conservatives and eliminate racial and religious issues from politics.[131]

In the meantime, the Daily Star continued its "frank discussion" and as election day drew nearer it became even more outspoken. The May 27 issue carried a Tisdale poet's contribution entitled "He ain't gonna reign no more:"

> Jimmy Gardiner is out hunting
> He and all his mob
> Scouring the country far and near
> For votes to hold his job
>
> Chorus:
>
> But he ain't gonna reign no more, no more
> He ain't gonna reign no more
> For the people mean to smash the machine
> So he ain't gonna reign no more

The journal also reported that Liberal candidates had urged Germans and Ukrainians to vote against their "oppressors" who were responsible for stirring up religious and racial strife. It also charged that the Liberals had placed an open letter in the Jewish press stating that Liberals sympathized with foreigners while Conservatives were opposed to immigration.[132] In an editorial entitled "A Reign of Terror" the Daily Star revealed that in one district, the only non-Catholic German ratepayer had not been permitted to send his children to the public school despite the fact that he was willing to have his children educated by nuns. After hearing his sad tale, the editor concluded that Uhrich's orations on toleration would be "cold comfort" to him. His only hope lay in a change of government.[133] The "duty of the hour" as the editor interpreted it, was to get rid of the "Gardiner political machine," to overthrow the "tyrant" and to replace him with Anderson and the Conservatives who were pledged to a "constructive platform of 31 specific reforms." Attempts by the Liberal machine to misrepresent the Conservative party to the illiterate element in the foreign population would fail if "the enlightened and the liberty-loving portion of the populace do their duty."[134] The journal also claimed that in a last desperate attempt to avoid defeat at the polls, the government had deliberately omitted the names of hundreds of known Conservatives from the voters' lists. One check had revealed that between 1,500 and 2,000 names had been dropped and the Daily Star had no doubt that additional scrutiny would increase the total.[135] On election day, readers were urged to "Strike Today for Liberty:"

> The fight today is not a party fight in the narrow sense. From all over the province come prayers like that of the women of Notaqeu [sic] , that voters everywhere sink party names and unite to free them "from the canker that is eating into the vitals of our schools and homes."[136]

The publicity and tactics of the campaign naturally alarmed the French community and, on the eve of the election, the A. C. F. C.'s Comité exécutif issued a manifesto to French Catholics stating that the association had never sided with one political party nor had it advised its members on how they should vote. However, in view of the present campaign waged against Catholicism and the French race, the executive decided to appeal to French Canadians:

> Franco-Canadiens, debout! Vous savez qui sont vos insulteurs! A votre bulletin de vote de leur donner la réponse. Personne n'a le droit de se désintéresser de la lutte. Personne n'a le droit de s'abstenir. Ce serait une lâcheté.[137]

Even if all eligible French Canadian voters had heeded this directive, their numbers still would have been insufficient to affect the outcome of the June 6 election. Liberal representation fell catastrophically from fifty-two to twenty-four while the Conservatives increased theirs from four to twenty-four; The Progressives won five seats and the Independents six.[138] As the results became known, a jubilant Cowan telegraphed Bennett: "Like a people emancipated from slavery, Regina tonight is engaged in the wildest celebration you ever saw."[139] The Daily Star proclaimed "A New Day Dawns," and declared that the Goliath among governments had been defeated by a "youthful David." It affirmed that Anderson's knowledge of the educational process, his courage and broad tolerance would be of great service in "knitting the people of Saskatchewan closer together in amity and tolerance."[140] The journal interpreted the election results as a landmark in Canadian history. The "machine" had planned to make Saskatchewan the Quebec of western Canada, but the "marvelous response" of the electorate altered the future of the Dominion. Saskatchewan voters had saved Canada from passing under the control of Quebec: "Another four years and it would have been too late."[141]

For his part, Anderson hastened to express his thanks and appreciation to the Daily Star for the great part it had played in the campaign. He claimed that "its public spirited campaign of education and enlightenment and its appeal to the forces of decency" in Saskatchewan had greatly assisted those who were fighting for "public rights." He claimed that the electorate had already expressed its appreciation of this great work, and he wished to thank his colleagues who contributed to smashing the "Machine" that had for so long tyrannized public life in Saskatchewan.[142] Anderson's evaluation of the Daily Star's rôle was shared by P. Gordon, who informed Bennett that everyone agreed that the results had been "due entirely" to the journal.[143]

As could be expected, the Sentinel attributed the defeat of the Gardiner administration to its alliance with the Catholic political machine. The editor interpreted the results as a fulfillment of his previous prediction that a union of Protestant elements could defeat the government.

The "consistent opposition" of Orangemen to the Liberal school policy was responsible for developing the public opinion which expressed itself on June 6. The Sentinel also credited Liberal Klansmen with the victory because the majority of Saskatchewan Knights belonged to that party and had placed Klan principles before party politics.[144] The editor of the Western Producer attributed the downfall of the government to the intense propaganda stirred up by the K. K. K. over the school question and the realization by many voters of the extent and influence of the well entrenched party machine. In addition, there was the general feeling that the Liberals had been in power long enough. Conservatives had interpreted the result as a general swing to their party, but the editor warned that the battle had been fought on issues that had little to do with traditional party politics.[145] The Morning Leader claimed that Liberal strength had been reduced as a result of a series of grievances that took on added importance with the passage of time. After twenty-four years of Liberal rule, the slogan, "Time for a change," had proven to be effective.[146] The editor of the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix had been critical of Conservative campaign tactics but, nevertheless, congratulated the Conservatives on their victory and expressed the hope that they would "not listen too much to the desires of some of their confrères."[147]

For his part, W. L. Ramsey of Bladworth argued that Gardiner's tactics had been a blunder and had boomeranged. The Trustees convention should have served as a warning, "but stupidity, ignorance and cowardice cannot see." Like Garibaldi, Anderson had endured pain and suffering and had "triumphed over the ashes of defeat." According to Ramsey, Anderson had inspired the courage that had been necessary for victory.[148] J. J. Leddy, on the other hand, was of the opinion that only a campaign such as the recent one could have elected Bryant in Lumsden. Leddy advised Bennett that the extent to which nativist influences would dominate Anderson remained to be seen. If the religious cry was a means to an end, he felt that Anderson was "assuredly in need of advice." Leddy was not certain whether Anderson, under the influence of the Klan, could form a cabinet that would not compromise the party federally, nor did he know whether the extreme elements would insist on the exclusion of Catholic representation in the cabinet.[149]

Be that as it may, the results of the election were inconclusive because no party had obtained a working majority. During a joint meeting of all Opposition members, the Progressives and Independents decided to co-operate with the Conservatives to defeat the Liberals. Anderson was accepted as the leader of this coalition. A resolution was passed asking Gardiner to resign but he refused to do so until a special session of the Legislature could be called to deal with the constitutional issue, a decision which earned him the Daily Star's sobriquet of "pseudo Premier."[150] The newspaper hinted that "Quebec money" was being dispatched hurriedly to Regina to buy the support of Progressives and Independents for the Gardiner machine.[151]

Anticipating a change of government, Denis advised the French community to wait and judge the new ministry by its actions. He stated that the A. C. F. C. would not present a "systematic opposition" to the new government but added that there was a minimum of national and religious rights which it would not and could not renounce. Denis assured French Catholics that the association would be ready to safeguard their rights if need be.[152]

As events were to prove, the French Canadian minority would need more than these assurances to survive the confrontation what would inevitably accompany the Liberal demise. Furthermore, death would remove Archbishop Mathieu, the most influential spokesman for the French cause. The A. C. F. C.'s position would be weakened by the depression which caused many to relegate questions of cultural survival to the background as the paramount issue of physical survival loomed more dismally with the passage of time. Assailed from all sides, the French community's position was becoming precarious. With each change of pace, French-speaking Canadians were becoming *les blessés*, a term used twelve years previously to describe the Franco-Ontarians in their struggle against Regulation XVII.

FOOTNOTES

[1] PAC, Bennett Papers, Memorandum on the Political Situation in Saskatchewan, Oct. 31, 1927, 24849.

[2] *Ibid*., 24851.

[3] *Ibid*., 24853.

[4] *Ibid*., 24852.

[5] *Ibid*., 24854.

[6] *Ibid*., 24857.

[7] *Ibid*., Bennett to Leddy, March 7, 1928, 24928.

[8] *Ibid*., MacMillan to Bennett, March 12, 1928.

[9] *Ibid*., Bryant to Bennett, March 5, 1928, 24916.

[10] *Ibid*., Platform adopted at Saskatchewan Conservative Convention, 24976-977.

[11] *Ibid*., Bryant to Bennett, March 16, 1928, (Personal), 24951.

[12] *Ibid*., 24954.

[13] *Ibid*., 24955-956.

[14] *Ibid*., 24957.

[15] *Ibid*., Hearn to Bennett, March 28, 1928, 24987-988.

[16] *Ibid*., 24989.

[17] *Ibid*.,Patrick to Bennett, April 21, 1928 (Personal), 25035.

[18] *Ibid*., 25037.

[19] *Ibid*., Leddy to Bennett, March 28, 1928, 24992-993.

[20] *Ibid*., MacKinnon to Bennett, March 28, 1928, (Private and Confidential), 25004-005.

[21] *Ibid*., Anderson to Bennett, March 24, 1928, 24967-969.

[22] *Ibid.*, Anderson to Bennett, April 13, 1928, 25022.

[23] *Ibid.*, Anderson to Bennett, May 4, 1928, 25049.

[24] *Ibid.*, Bryant to Bennett, April 11, 1928, (Personal), 25014.

[25] *Ibid.*, MacPherson to Bennett, April 7, 1928, (Personal and Confidential), 24997-998.

[26] *Ibid.*, 24997-998.

[27] *Ibid.*, Perkins to Bennett, May 23, 1928, (Personal and Confidential), 25074-075.

[28] *Ibid.*, Anderson to Bennett, June 4, 1928, (Personal), 25122.

[29] *Ibid.*, Bryant to Bennett, June 2, 1928, 25117-118.

[30] *Ibid.*, 25118-119.

[31] *Ibid.*, Bryant to Bennett, May 26, 1928, 44114-115.

[32] *Ibid.*, Agnew to Bennett, May 26, 1928, 25100-101.

[33] *Ibid.*, Hoskin to Bennett, March 14, 1929, 35993-994.

[34] *Ibid.*, Rondeau to Bennett, May 25, 1928, 25095.

[35] *Ibid.*, 25096-098.

[36] *Ibid.*, Reilly to Bennett, April 14, 1928, 25025.

[37] *Ibid.*, Regina Daily Star Proposal, c May 21, 1928, 44109. In addition, Bennett lent Campbell $50,000. at six per cent interest to begin operations. For a more detailed analysis of the dilemmas of the Conservative press in Saskatchewan and the formation and operations of the *Daily Star* consult J. W. Brennan, "Press and Party in Saskatchewan, 1914-29," *Saskatchewan History*, in press.

[38] PAC, Bennett Papers, Bennett to Gordon, Oct. 2, 1928, (Personal), 44142.

[39] *Daily Star*, Aug. 25, 1928.

[40] PAC, Bennett Papers, Gillies to Bennett, Aug. 31, 1928, 44133.

[41] *Morning Leader*, June 1, 1928.

[42] *Daily Star*, Oct. 12, 1928.

[43] *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1928.

[44] *Ibid.*, Oct. 16, 1928.

[45] Ibid., Oct. 24, 1928.

[46] Ibid., Oct. 25, 1928.

[47] AS, Gardiner Papers, Davidson Leader, July 26, 1928, 13837.

[48] Ibid., Kenaston Courier, Aug. 9, 1928, 13861.

[49] Daily Star, Oct. 26, 1928.

[50] Ibid., Oct. 30, 1928.

[51] Western Producer, Nov. 1, 1928.

[52] Ibid., Nov. 15, 1928.

[53] Morning Leader, Nov. 1, 1928.

[54] Ibid., Nov. 6, 1928.

[55] Daily Star, Nov. 29, 1928.

[56] Ibid., Nov. 28, 1928.

[57] Ibid., Oct. 30, 1928.

[58] Ibid., Jan. 7, 1929.

[59] Ibid., Jan. 15, 1929.

[60] Sentinel, Feb. 28, 1929.

[61] Ibid., Jan. 17, 1929.

[62] Ibid., April 18, 1929.

[63] Ibid., May 2, 1929.

[64] Ibid., Oct. 10, 1929.

[65] Daily Star, Dec. 31, 1928.

[66] Ibid., Jan. 7, 1929.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid., Feb. 6, 1929.

[69] Ibid., Feb. 28, 1929.

[70] Ibid., March 5, 1929.

[71] Ibid., May 21, 1929.

[72] *Ibid.*, Aug. 19, 1929.

[73] *Ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1929.

[74] PAC, Bennett Papers, Leddy to Bennett, Feb. 1, 1929.

[75] *Ibid.*, Leddy to Bennett, Jan. 23, 1928 [sic] , 24890.

[76] *Saskatchewan Journals and Sessional Papers* [hereafter cited as *Journals*] , 1928029, p. 256.

[77] *Ibid.*

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 272.

[80] *Daily Star*, Jan. 25, 1929.

[81] *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1929.

[82] *Report of Proceedings of 38th Annual Meeting of Right Worshipful Grand Orange Lodge of Saskatchewan, 1929*, pp. 19-20, 23-24, 59.

[83] *Sentinel*, April 18, 1929.

[84] *Daily Star*, Feb. 22, 1929.

[85] *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1929.

[86] *Morning Leader*, Feb. 23, 1929.

[87] *Report of Proceedings of 14th Annual Convention of S.S.T.A., 1929*, pp. 148-49, 152.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

[91] *Daily Star*, Feb. 25, 1929.

[92] *Star-Phoenix*, Feb. 25, 1929.

[93] *Western Producer*, Feb. 28, 1929.

[94] *Star-Phoenix*, Jan. 11, 1929.

[95] PAC, Bennett Papers, Agnew to Bennett, April 20, 1929, 39447.

[96] *Sentinel*, Feb. 7, 1929.

[97] Daily Star, March 27, 1929.

[98] Star-Phoenix, April 27, 1929.

[99] Daily Star, April 6, 1929.

[100] AS, Gardiner Papers, Mackenzie King to Gardiner, Jan. 3, 1929, (Personal and Confidential), 8201-202.

[101] Ibid., 8202.

[102] W. Calderwood, "The Rise and Fall of the K.K.K.," p. 253.

[103] Daily Star, May 1, 1929.

[104] Ibid., May 13, 1929.

[105] Ibid., June 1, 1929.

[106] Ibid.

[107] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 66, Overture of the Presbytery of Assiniboia.

[108] Ibid., "The 14 Points Before the Electorate in this Campaign."

[109] AS, Gardiner Papers, 9723.

[110] Ibid., A Protestant to Dear Mr. Tucker, No. 1, 5806. A Klan organ, the Western Freedman, was directed by J. J. Maloney and edited by G. A. Lundie. It was alleged to have had a circulation of 12,000 but this figure is obviously highly inflated. Maloney sold his interest in the paper in November, 1927. As its name implies, the Freedman was "uncompromisingly opposed" to the Roman Catholic Church. Convinced that Catholic domination would imperil the interests and freedom of Canada and the Empire, the Freedman stood:

> first: for God and Christianity, pure and undefiled; secondly, for loyalty to Protestantism for which our fathers bled and died, and lastly for loyalty to our Sovereign Lord the King, for Canada, and the whole Empire which it has pleased the Almighty to call our King to reign over.

AS, Gardiner Papers, Western Freedman, April 5, 1928, 12858.

[111] AS, Gardiner Papers, Just a Canadian to Mr. Tucker, No. 2, 5806.

[112] Ibid., An Onlooker to Mr. Tucker, No. 3, 5807.

[113] Sentinel, Jan. 10, 1929.

[114] Ibid., May 23, 1929.

[115] *Daily Star*, May 14, 1929.

[116] *Ibid.*, May 18, 1929.

[117] *Ibid.*, June 5, 1929.

[118] PAC, Bennett Papers, Anderson to Bennett, May 6, 1929, 25259-260.

[119] *Ibid.*, Rondeau to Anderson, n.d., 25230.

[120] *Ibid.*, MacMillan to Bennett, May 8, 1929, 25249.

[121] *Ibid.*, Bennett to Bryant, May 13, 1929, 25255.

[122] *Ibid.*, Bryant to Bennett, May 16, 1929, 25280.

[123] *Daily Star*, May 20, 1929.

[124] *Daily Star*, May 15, 1929.

[125] *Ibid.*

[126] *Ibid.*, May 23, 1929.

[127] *Ibid.*, May 27, 1929.

[128] PAC, Bennett Papers, Sommerville and Bennett to Bennett, May 21, 1929, 44191.

[129] *Ibid.*, MacKinnon to Bennett, May 27, 1929, 25290-291.

[130] *Ibid.*, Bennett to MacKinnon, June 3, 1929, 25314.

[131] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 68J, Denis to Bennett [sic] , 25 juin 1929

[132] *Daily Star*, May 28, 1929.

[133] *Ibid.*, May 29, 1929.

[134] *Ibid.*, June 1, 1929.

[135] *Ibid.*

[136] *Ibid.*, June 6, 1929.

[137] *Patriote*, 29 mai 1929.

[138] Two other Liberal members were returned in deferred elections at Ile à la Crosse and Cumberland.

[139] PAC, Bennett Papers, Cowan to Bennett, June 6, 1929.

[140] *Daily Star*, June 7, 1929.

[141] Ibid., June 8, 1929.

[142] Ibid., June 7, 1929.

[143] PAC, Bennett Papers, Gordon to Bennett, June 21, 1929, 44200.

[144] Sentinel, June 13, 1929.

[145] Western Producer, June 13, 1929.

[146] Morning Leader, June 8, 1929.

[147] Star-Phoenix, June 7, 1929.

[148] Ibid., June 15, 1929.

[149] PAC, Bennett Papers, Leddy to Bennett, June 11, 1929, 25332.

[150] Daily Star, July 6, 1929. For a more comprehensive study of the campaign, the election results and the constitutional crisis consult J. P. Kyba, "The Saskatchewan General Election of 1929" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, August, 1964).

[151] Daily Star, June 11, 1929.

[152] Patriote, June 12, 1929.

CHAPTER VI

THE ELIMINATION OF SECTARIAN INFLUENCES IN SASKATCHEWAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The electoral verdict of June 6 presaged the advent of a new era to those who for years had been denouncing Catholic intrigues, Quebec domination and foreign influences. The Daily Star would not be alone in voicing its impatience with the slowness of a political process which maintained an alleged puppet government in power and prevented long awaited reforms from being carried out. After having been subjected to frustration and disappointment for nearly twenty-five years, the nativist and patriotic forces could now hope to realize their goal of cultural conformity based on Anglo-Protestant values and traditions. The fact that nativist and Conservative forces were, for all practical purposes, different sides of the same coin, would make the objective more readily attainable. Given the issues which had been raised and the nature of Conservative support, Anderson could not but implement a program of educational reform which reflected nativist aspirations when he assumed power.

Despite the inconclusive nature of the election, Conservatives were very pleased with the results. From Regina, P. H. Gordon informed R. B. Bennett that "unless we make a false move, Anderson should be in power by the end of the year."[1] For its part, the Daily Star could now disclose how the Gardiner machine attempted to prey on the ignorance and religious fears of large sections of the electorate. The journal revealed that notices had been circulated in French communities in Turtleford constituency urging French Catholics to beware of "the wolf" (Anderson) who was attempting to attack "the flock." In Gravelbourg, Catholic voters were reportedly shown the bogus letter sent to Liberal voters by Protestants urging the former to overthrow the machine controlled by Archbishop Mathieu. The editor also affirmed that, in some constituencies, voters of foreign origin were advised that their marriages would be invalidated and their children declared illegitimate if the Conservatives were elected. Furthermore, it would be illegal for old people to address each other in their native language.[2]

Sensing that the hour of deliverance was at hand, the Daily Star capitalized on every opportunity to publicize the extent to which the public school system had been betrayed to sectarian influences by a corrupt government. The July 6, 1929, issue, for example, denounced the sectarian illustrated geography used in grades four to six in the Willow Bunch Public School. The editor claimed that the text presented "a strained view of Canada" because nine-tenths of its contents were devoted to Quebec. Saskatchewan, on the other hand, was accorded only "three short paragraphs." Not only was this geography blatantly biased, it was also being used to teach young Protestant scholars in a public school conducted in a Catholic convent. To make matters worse, this "quaint illustrated geography was complimented by the Magnan reader in grade four." The editor declared that additional comments on the reader were unnecessary but that it was imperative that Anderson and his new government act on the matter as soon as the Lieutenant-Governor saw fit to ask for the resignation of Gardiner and his fellow usurpers. One of Anderson's first actions would be to inform the public of the extent to which the Liberals had permitted the schools to be used for proselytizing purposes and to sow the seeds of anti-British propaganda. The Liberal administration had frequently denied charges of sectarian influences and foreign language instruction in public schools. Since the defeat of the Gardiner machine, the reign of terror that had prevented many people from speaking out had come to an end, and the Willow Bunch revelation was an example that concerned citizens were now disclosing the true state of affairs in the province.[3]

For his part, a "Disgruntled Liberal" informed the editor of the evil consequences of racial sectionalism. He claimed that French Canadian trustees were hiring only French-speaking teachers, that German Catholic districts preferred German Catholic teachers and that English Protestant trustees were employing only Anglo-Protestant teachers because Catholic public school trustees would not engage Protestant teachers. This policy created a dilemma for Irish Catholic teachers because there were no predominantly Irish Catholic school boards to employ them. They were the victims of the system of racial preference inaugurated by Catholic boards. Obviously moved by this sad tale, the Daily Star declared that it was indicative of the disintegration that had taken place as a result of using foreign immigrants and sectarian education for party purposes.[5] As proof of the fragmentation of communal life, the newspaper reproduced a translation of a letter allegedly written by a German school trustee urging German Catholic trustees to attend the convention of the Christian School Trustees Association (C.S.T.A.), thereby putting up a united front against Anderson, the Conservatives, and the S.S.T.A. The letter was described as a "quaint mixture of religious hate, anti-British sentiment and Liberal politics." This appeal to race hatred was far more incriminating than a formal confession by the Liberal machine. The editor predicted that it would take many years of firmness and solicitude to heal the wounds of the public schools "sectarian-shattered under the Gardiner regime."[6]

To make its case even more convincing, the Daily Star analysed election results and concluded that Gardiner's support had been "drawn almost exclusively from foreign settlements where the machine was busy." In forty-three English-speaking constituencies, the Opposition won thirty-four seats and the Liberals nine. More significant was the fact that in twenty largely non-Anglo-Saxon ridings, the Liberals elected nineteen members and the Conservatives one. This did not indicate an intelligent electoral support but one "frightened out of the people by tales of Conservative terrorism." It would be up to the next government to remove these fears implanted by machine workers and bring the foreign born "to the full status of Canadian citizens, hating none and fearing none."[7]

The Daily Star was equally vociferous and adamant in its castigation of the privileges accorded to the French language as a result of pressure from Quebec. In an editorial entitled "A Mischievous Propangandist," the journal alluded to all the attempts by Postmaster General P. J. Veniot's department to force French on the non-French-Speaking population of Canada especially those in the western provinces. The plan to make Saskatchewan the greater Quebec of the West had gone astray with the defeat of the Gardiner administration, but the efforts of Quebec to extend its domination would not be lessened. Prime Minister King would be wise to get rid of Veniot and "break away from the grip of Quebec dictators" if he wanted the continued support of the West.[8] The journal commended highly the action of a judge of the Court of King's Bench of Saskatchewan who refused to accept the French language post cards which Veniot had printed for use in the West. The judge argued that the card was illegal and demanded one printed "in the language of Canada."[9] A short time later, the newspaper revealed another development in the campaign to force French on western Canada. Saskatchewan postmasters allegedly had been ordered to list French-speaking people separately on their lists of people receiving mail. The editor claimed that other nationalities had as much right to be listed separately as did the French, but that post office officials had stated that only French and English were official languages in Canada.[10] Two months later, the Daily Star reported that the customs office in Regina had been supplied with bilingual permit forms. Even the Internal Revenue was presently using bilingual stationary. The movement had now reached the state where the government was openly working to bilingualise all its offices in the West. After this was accomplished, the positions would be filled by Quebec civil servants on the pretext that they were required to process the bilingual forms.[11]

As an additional refinement to its theme of unwarranted bilingual aggression the Daily Star disclosed that P. J. A. Cardin, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, had joined with his Quebec colleagues in the Cabinet to force the French language on western Canada. Cardin's opportunity came when the report of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting was being printed. Instead of publishing it in English for the people of Canada with a limited French edition for those in Quebec who could not read English, he had the entire report printed in both languages and bound in one volume. According to the editor, this was another attempt by the Quebec bloc "to force French upon the people of the British provinces irrespective of desire, decency or the Canadian constitution."[12] The journal found it difficult to contain its admiration for the Regina man who was annoyed at having to fill a bilingual form to obtain a renewal of his radio license and who consequently wrote on the "foreign language" portion of the form: "What are we in Canada -- a colony of Quebec?" According to the Daily Star, this action was a proper rebuke to Cardin's attempts to force the French language on western Canadians. The editor urged all westerners to adopt the Reginian's tactics every time they were confronted with an "illegal" bilingual document.[13]

Another damaging blow against unwarranted bilingual encroachments was delivered by a prosperous-looking Regina resident, reputedly a former Liberal, who walked into the post office to purchase a one hundred dollar money order. He insisted that he did not want a bilingual money order from Quebec but one printed in the language of Saskatchewan. When he was informed that only bilingual money orders were available, the man walked across the street to the C. P. R. office and purchased a C. P. Express money order. He told the clerk of his grievances against the post office, and was advised that more people than ever before were purchasing C. P. Express money orders.[14] The Daily Star also demonstrated how patriots could fight the Quebec campaign. It disclosed, for example, that a Quebec committee had advised manufacturers that they must use bilingual wrappers and containers. These manufacturers accepted the representation that Canada was a bilingual country and they were not aware that they were being used as pawns "in a national subterranean campaign" to bring the West under the domination of Quebec. The journal advised those who refused to accept these bilingual packages to make their reasons for doing so very clear and manufacturers would soon realize that they had been hoodwinked. The government presented a different problem because it enjoyed a monopoly on stamps and licenses. The Daily Star counselled its readers that every time the government forced them to accept bilingualism, they were to vow to endure it only until the next federal election.[15]

In the meantime, the inconclusive results of the June 6 election necessitated a special session of the Legislature to determine which group was to form the government. The administration was unable to have its nominee elected Speaker, and the Opposition members were able to secure the election of Bryant to that post. On September 5, the Liberals were defeated thirty-four to twenty-seven on a motion of non-confidence and Anderson, as leader of the combined opposition, became Premier and Minister of Education of a ministry known as the Saskatchewan Co-operative Government. As could be expected, the Daily Star was elated with the outcome of the session and stated that the "usurping Premier" had been defeated despite his "audacious effort" to show that the opposition was a "disunited trinity of minorities." The Opposition members had followed the journal's advice and remained united and silent in the face of Gardiner's taunts.[16] When a Catholic journal, the Prairie Messenger, complained that there was not one Catholic in Anderson's cabinet and that seven of the ten ministers belonged to the Masonic or Orange orders, the Daily Star replied that the question of Catholic representation was an "absurd proposition." More significant to the journal was the fact that only one Catholic offered himself as an opposition candidate, and that he had been defeated by the Liberals. The editor argued that religious beliefs were not a criterion for public office and that selection should be made solely on the basis of "mental, moral, executive and geographical fitness."[17]

The demise of the Liberals was regarded as a watershed by all those who, since 1905, had been denouncing sectarianism and foreign domination in Saskatchewan. For its part, the Sentinel affirmed that Anderson would be attacked by the "most subtle and unscrupulous" Catholic clerics because his victory at the polls had been a shock to the papal party. The Catholic clergy would not surrender its ambitions of making Saskatchewan a second Quebec and would resort to underhanded tactics in an attempt to cause divisions within the ranks of the Co-operative Government.[18] Speaking before the Arthur Meighen Club in Regina, Anderson gave a "ringing reiteration" of his intention to drive sectarianism from the public school system.[19] In another address in the same city, the Premier declared that sectarian symbols and uniforms would be removed from public schools and that public schools would no longer be housed in church buildings. Commenting on the situation in Gravelbourg, Anderson stated that many children in that district had grown up without formal education because their parents refused to send them to a school dominated by sectarian influences. He announced that steps had been taken to cancel the twenty year lease on the convent and declared that the government would require the construction of bona fide public school premises.[20] The Sentinel contended that no redress could be expected from the previous administration but that following Anderson's declarations, Protestant ratepayers in Gravelbourg were being promised a satisfactory remedy. The journal hoped that this "radical action" would be applied to other districts where similar conditions prevailed.[21]

The Premier's first act could not but fail to intensify the apprehensions of French Canadians on the one hand, and the admiration of nativists on the other. On September 27, 1929, he announced before an audience of over 400 "enthusiastic supporters" in Saskatoon that he would suppress the exchange of all teaching certificates with the province of Quebec because they were inferior to those granted in Saskatchewan. He declared that he knew of two French Canadian students who passed their grade eight exams in Saskatchewan and then spent two years in a Quebec normal school. They returned to Saskatchewan where, owing to departmental regulations, they received grade eleven standing and were allowed to teach in a school.[22] Replying to a request by A.C.F.C. president Raymond Denis for the names of the two teachers, Anderson stated that Saskatchewan had been the only western province which recognized Quebec certificates and that it would no longer do so. He claimed that his government sought to secure efficiency and had no intention of discriminating against teachers whose qualifications met Saskatchewan standards. Furthermore, it should not be possible for teachers to obtain certification in another province in less time than they could do so in Saskatchewan.[23] Denis brought the matter to the attention of C. F. Delâge, Quebec's Superintendent of Public Instruction, who refuted allegations that Quebec certificates were inferior and stated that the case cited by Anderson was very exceptional. The two students were of above average intelligence and had been boarders at the Ste-Hyacinthe Normal School where they studied assidiously from 5:30 a.m. until 9:00 p.m. and, consequently, had been able to complete a four-year course in two years. Delâge did not approve of this and had given instructions that no one admitted to the course of _brevet supérieur_ without at least one year of high school training.[24] For its part, the _Daily Star_ was not interested in exceptional cases, and it congratulated Anderson on his decision to suppress the exchange of certificates with Quebec. The editor stated that the Premier soon would be expected to "deal effectively" with the matter of public schools housed in Catholic churches or convents: "True men and women of all parties look to him to free the schools — and they will not be disappointed."[25]

While the suppression of Quebec certificates severely curtailed the recruitment of bilingual teachers for French school districts, French Catholics were dealt an even more serious blow in December when the Deputy Minister of Education announced that, henceforth, religious instruction would have to be conducted in the English language.[26] The Daily Star interpreted this new ruling as "A Piece of Remarkable News" especially to those who treasured British loyalty and traditions and who were aware of the "disintegrating influences" which had been assiduously working under the protective mantle of Mackenzie King and his "former Saskatchewan lieutenant, Mr. Gardiner." Now that Gardiner was gone, new rulings would bring an end to sectarianism and anti-British sentiment in public schools. The editor hinted that the people would soon have a chance to retire Prime Minister King and that once he was gone, the campaign to force French "down the throats of the British-loving peoples of western Canada" would also disappear.[27]

This new departmental directive delivered a mortal blow to the very essence of French Catholic culture, and the French community was adamant in its opposition. Denis informed the editor of Le Patriote that

> sous aucun prétexte nous ne pouvons accepter que l'instruction religieuse soit donnée en anglais. C'est un point sur lequel nous ne devons pas céder.[28]

Consequently, on January 23, 1930, Denis and other members of the A.C.F.C. executive discussed the matter in a private interview with Anderson. The Premier claimed that he never would have dealt with the question of religious instruction if German-speaking trustees had not asked his Department whether catechism could be taught in the German language. He, in turn, had submitted the matter to the Attorney-General and the latter's opinion was that it could be taught only in English. Anderson informed the delegates that he had issued no instructions to inspectors concerning this new interpretation but added that the Chief Inspector of Schools might have done so.[29] Ironically, it was the Premier himself who advised French Catholics of a means to circumvent this new ruling. He suggested that they open their schools at 1:00 p.m. rather than 1:30 p.m. and close them at 3:30 p.m. According to Anderson, "Religious instruction could then be given from half-past three until four in any way required by the board."[30] Commenting in Le Patriote on the status of the French language for religious instruction, Denis stated that the Attorney-General's opinion was very questionable. Denis asked the trustees to continue using French during the half-hour of religious instruction in districts that were exclusively Catholic. In mixed districts where controversies could arise, Anderson's recommendations should be adopted and catechism taught in French outside of regular hours from 3:30 to 4:00 p.m.[31] In some districts the dinner break was reduced to an hour from one and one-half hours, and religious instruction was given in French between 1:00 and 1:30 p.m.[32] French school districts adopted these policies and, as a result, religious instruction continued to be presented in le doux parler despite a few encounters with over-zealous inspectors who insisted that religious instruction had to be given in English only.[33]

In the meantime, Anderson quickly dispelled any rumors that his government might modify its intention of removing sectarian influences from public schools. At a Conservative banquet in Moose Jaw, he reassured delegates that he would introduce amendments to the School Act to ensure that public schools became and remained non-sectarian institutions. He also stated that he had information that many Catholics sympathized with him.[34] Before the Sam Hughes Orange Lodge in Regina, Anderson declared that, as Minister of Education, he could immediately issue regulations prohibiting the presence of religious emblems and garb in public schools, but that he wanted to do this by an amendment to the School Act at the next session of the Legislature. In this way, no future government could alter the amendment without the knowledge of the people.[35] For his part, J. J. Leddy informed Bennett that he knew of no Catholics who supported the Premier's views and added that any attempt to interfere with the religious garb of teaching orders would be bitterly resisted by Catholics. Leddy believed that it was indicative of a sad state of affairs when Anderson not only considered it ethical but popular to announce government policy before a group of Orangemen.[36]

It was not too difficult for French Catholics to interpret Conservative declarations and the Francophobic editorials of the Daily Star as an onslaught against their language and religion. The trustees of the Vimy Ridge School District, for example, were of the opinion that the A.C.F.C. should circulate a petition protesting against any forthcoming amendments regarding the teaching of French and the prohibition of religious garb and emblems in schools.[37] The A.C.F.C.'s secretary general, A. de Margerie, replied that, for the moment at least, the religious issue must not be confounded with the language question. Anderson had not censured the French language and had indicated that he would continue the distribution of free texts to schools where French was taught as a subject of study. The trustees were advised that the association could not take the initiative in religious matters because these were the prerogative of the episcopacy.[38]

In this critical hour, death prevented Archbishop Mathieu from using his sterling qualities as a mediator to effect a compromise between the desires of his co-religionists and the minimum that the new political order could permit as an expedient. In an editorial entitled, "A Great Saint Passes," the Daily Star stated that the amendment "to make French a compulsory language of instruction for the first year in separate schools," was a tribute to Mathieu's zeal in advancing the interests of Catholicism in the West.[39] The journal had previously credited Mathieu with having requested and obtained from Premier Martin a primary course in French, one hour of French a day in other grades, and one-half hour of catechism.[40]

Mathieu's death meant that an episcopal directive would not be issued until a successor was appointed. Mgr. Joseph-Henri Prud'homme of Prince Albert, the only other Catholic bishop in the province, is reported to have gone east to discuss the proposed amendment with Cardinal F.-X. Rouleau of Quebec and the Apostolic Delegate. For his part Prud'homme issued a circular letter to his clergy in which he vigorously protested against the "menaces" directed against Catholics, the injustices which the Catholic minority had to suffer and the "fallacious accusations" which issued from the demagogic, sectarian press. He charged that fanaticism had been unleashed by the very individuals whom the electorate had chosen as their administrators and, consequently, charged with promoting the welfare of society without distinguishing between race and creed.[41] Prud'homme cited the resolution adopted at the 1928 Conservative convention and the interpretation given it by the Conservative executive in January, 1929. He declared that the intent of the motion and the interpretive clause was to eliminate religious communities as teachers and that it remained to be seen whether these threats were to be executed. In the meantime, the Bishop called upon Catholics to pray and receive communion in order to obtain enlightenment and protection from God.[42]

The Daily Star, which was never renowned for the accuracy of its translation or interpretation of anything written in French, reproduced the circular letter claiming that it was an episcopal instruction to Catholics "to take steps to avert the threatened changes, and to overthrow the provincial government."[43] The journal declared that no "public document" issued in the whole course of western Canadian history was as significant as Prud'homme's letter engaging Catholics to bring about the downfall of the government. Not even the sense of courtesy and dignity due his office could prevent him from being censured for this "outrageous and mischievous act." Furthermore, since Prud'homme professed allegiance to the Vatican, "a foreign power in Europe," his act of declaring war on the government of Saskatchewan "savors of high treason."[44] The editor urged that the Bishop be publicly rebuked by the Papal Legate in Ottawa. The "mischievous attempt to raise an insurrection" against a popular civil government should make the people aware of "the hidden menace against their civil liberties."[45] For its part, the Sentinel argued that, since Prud'homme was unable to control the government, he had prescribed prayers to ward off the "evils" which menaced the Catholic Church in Saskatchewan. For thirty years clerics had exercised a stranglehold on the public schools and made conditions so 'evil' for non-Catholics that members of all political parties united to defeat "the politicians who preferred to serve the bishops rather than the electors."[46]

The Premier, undoubtedly informed of the 'true' significance of the circular letter by the Daily Star, naturally expressed concern over its contents. Denis reassured him that Prud'homme had made no mention of overthrowing the government but had simply indicated to what extent Catholics felt threatened by legislation that would be soon brought down.

Public prayers were requested to ask Providence to remove the perils which seemed to be directed against Catholics. According to Denis, the circular had not been drafted for political purposes but only to clearly indicate to what extent Catholics felt threatened by the actions of the government and by the "insulting attacks" of some of its supporters. Denis stated that the government's recent pronouncements and actions made it very difficult for French Canadians to see anything but an effort to eliminate the teaching of French.[47]

In the meantime, members of the A.C.F.C. and the A.C.E.F.C. met with Anderson to discuss the forthcoming legislation concerning religious garb and emblems in public schools. The Premier "energetically denied" rumors that the government was not only opposed to the attire of nuns but also wanted to prevent them from teaching altogether. He said that he did not object to the sisters as teachers and that they were free to wear their habit in the street or elsewhere. In public schools, however, they would have to remove their religious emblems and modify their costume in such a way that it could not be regarded as the garb of a religious order. Despite a request to do so, Anderson did not explain what he meant by the term "religious garb."[48] Anderson later outlined his personal views in a letter to Denis:

> I want you to remember that I am not bigoted or biased in any way. Furthermore, no minority in this province is going to be persecuted by any Government I have the honour to lead, nor is any minority going to be allowed to impose its beliefs upon a majority.[49]

The French community, however, derived very little comfort from this flowery expression of impartiality. Father M. Baudoux of Prud'homme informed a friend that he placed little faith in the Premier's good dispositions because Anderson was a hypocrite and a crafty politician who would try to convince French Catholics that they must cede on a few minor points in order that they not lose all their privileges. Anderson had stated that if there was any controversy over what constituted a religious costume the courts would rule on the matter. Baudoux, however, feared that Anderson would attempt to influence the decision in favor of his government. Baudoux was of the opinion that once the religious habit of sisters had been suppressed from schools, the Premier would want the French to yield on other issues.[50]

A short time later, in the Speech from the Throne, Anderson announced his intention to introduce legislation designed to maintain "harmony, peace and concord" in public schools.[51] As yet, the status of the French language had not been an issue, a fact which the Premier reiterated privately to Denis,[52] and publicly in the Legislature. He announced, however, that French was being taught in 166 schools in the province and that of thirty-five inspectors responsible for these schools, twenty-five favored the abolition of the primary course in the French language, two favored the use of French and English in the first grade, while eight supported the existing policy. He stated that the government would conduct a survey of schools where French was being taught. Two inspectors would be sent out and, to be absolutely fair, the Premier announced that he would appoint a French Canadian member of the Normal School staff and one English-speaking inspector.[53] On February 11, 1930, the Premier introduced Bill No. I, the School Act amendment patriots and nativists had so long awaited. With the exception of the addition of the term "faith" the amendment was identical to that introduced by Anderson in January, 1929:

> 222a (1) No emblem of any religious faith, denomination, order, sect, society or association, shall be displayed in any public school premises during school hours, nor shall any person teach or be permitted to teach in any public school while wearing the garb of any such religious faith, denomination, order, sect, society or association.[54]

Another amendment stipulated that all school board meetings were to be conducted in English, but that the chairman could provide an interpreter for the benefit of those who could not understand English. The provisions dealing with the qualifications of trustees were amended to read that every person nominated for the office of trustee must be able to read and write the School Act in English and conduct school meetings in English. Prior to this amendment, the candidate was required to have reading and and speaking knowledge of a language but it was not necessary that the language be English.[55] Anderson had not been satisfied with this state of affairs and had indicated his intention to alter the qualifications shortly after assuming office.[56]

During the debate following second reading of Bill No. I, the Premier announced that the amendment pertained only to public schools and that it did not affect language privileges, religious instruction or separate schools. He said that sectarian influences prevailed in public schools and that forty-two of the forty-five inspectors who were asked for their opinions on sectarianism were in favor of prohibiting religious garb and emblems in public schools. He claimed that inspectors had "definitely reported" the presence of religious emblems in 161 rooms in 117 schools.[57] Anderson said that there was an "unwarranted" feeling of alarm among some people concerning the legislation. He had received thirty-seven telegrams from various parts of the province reportedly representing the opinion of 5,000 people "demanding" the withdrawal of the legislation. He argued that all these people were asking the government to recognize two types of public schools, one sectarian and one non-sectarian. In addition to these telegrams, the Premier announced that he had received a number of resolutions to the same effect. He claimed that some "central force or source" had provided resolutions to be signed and sent to the government and that this indicated that the resolutions were not the "voluntary expressions of the will of the people." According to Anderson, the fact that some "central force" was directing school boards was a good reason why the legislation should be enacted. He argued that there had to be a complete separation of church and state insofar as public schools were concerned.[58]

As could be expected, the Liberals offered strong opposition to the measure. Dr. J. Uhrich said that in schools where there was objection to the presence of religious emblems, even if only from one ratepayer, the emblems should be removed. He noted that there were some public schools where no objections could be raised because there were no dissident ratepayers. In Duck Lake, for example, the public school was exclusively Catholic because Protestants had established a separate school.[59] Uhrich argued that the government had no right to decree what dress teachers should wear but, nevertheless, insisted that where there were objections to religious garb, it should be removed. He declared that Jewish children could object to the Lord's Prayer and that if Anderson wished to be consistent in his policy of eliminating sectarianism, the Bible and the Lord's Prayer should also be banned from schools. He insisted that the best way to deal with the matter was to let the school districts decide for themselves.[60] Former Attorney-General T. C. Davis declared that the legislation would be the first of its kind in Canada, and that it would stand as a monument to intolerance and bigotry. He quoted statistics to show that 83 nuns were teaching in 43 of the province's 5,000 public schools. In 23 of these 43 public schools, there were no Protestant children and 117 Protestant students attended the other 20 schools. Furthermore, 31 of these children voluntarily attended Catholic schools when other educational facilities were available. This left only 86 Protestant children under the direction of nuns in districts where other facilities were not available. In view of the fact that 86 of Saskatchewan's 225,000 school children were involved, Davis sarcastically declared "that the people could see the immensity of the problem which the government sought to solve by means of the bill."[61]

For his part, Gardiner read excerpts from some of Anderson's reports as a school inspector stating that the non-English were making notable progress in becoming Canadianized and learning English, and that they desired to co-operate with departmental officials to eliminate any difficulties which existed.[62] Gardiner then quoted from Anderson's speeches after he became leader of the Conservatives in 1924, to the effect that schools abounded with sectarian and racial influences. Gardiner maintained that the Conservatives had introduced the amendment to eliminate the alleged conditions they themselves had created.[63] The Liberal leader contended that the bill introduced a new principle in the School Act because it made a distinction between public and separate schools. It would be illegal to display religious emblems in public schools but not in separate schools.[64] He claimed that the legislation would not eliminate sectarian influences because it would encourage the creation of additional separate and private schools.[65] In concluding his remarks, Gardiner moved an amendment stating that the bill should apply only to those districts where a minority of ratepayers having children attending school objected to the presence of religious emblems or to instruction by persons in religious garb. In the event of such a complaint, the Minister should order the removal of such emblems and "the discontinuance from teaching of any teacher wearing a religious garb."[66] This motion was defeated 26 to 33. The original bill was assented to on March 11, and it came into force on July 1, 1930.

In the meantime, J. Needham, president of the S.S.T.A. brought the annual convention to its feet when he introduced the Premier as "a man who knows what has been done in the matter of education, what needs doing, and how to do it." Anderson was "frequently interrupted by enthusiastic applause" as he described the administration's plan of educational reform to the delegates. This endorsement climaxed when he declared that the bill before the Legislature would free the public schools from sectarian influences.[67] The Daily Star contended that, through his amendment to eliminate sectarian influences, Anderson was carrying out the spirit of the School Act as it had been conceived by former territorial Premier Haultain. It would be "audacity of the highest rank" to suggest that Haultain intended that after placing Catholic clerics and emblems in separate schools, Catholics should then be permitted to do the same in public schools.[68] The newspaper also published the names of those constituencies whose representatives had voted against the amendment in the Legislature. It declared that the electors of those districts "should have something to say to their members for their efforts to hand over the public schools of Saskatchewan as a proselytization preserve to the Roman Catholic Church."[69]

The Daily Star also revealed that the Jewish population of Montreal had it and Premier Anderson to thank for recent legislation establishing Jewish separate schools. The Jewish community had petitioned the Taschereau government for separate schools and a bill to that effect had been introduced into the Assembly. The Papal Legate publicly attacked the government and it appeared that the legislation would have to be withdrawn. Taschereau, however, advised the Quebec bishops that in view of the conflict in Saskatchewan, "it would be squiffy to deny minority rights to the Jewish population of Montreal." The Quebec Premier elaborated on the attitude Anderson would adopt and the publicity the Daily Star would accord to the refusal to grant minority rights. As a result of this forceful argument, the Papal Legate changed his dictum and permitted the government to proceed with the bill.[70]

For their part, the A.C.E.F.C. and the C.S.T.A. issued a formal protest against the amendment. In a joint circular sent to members of the Assembly, the associations described the legislation "as an open and unjustifiable attack against the Catholics of this province." They also argued that the protection of the minority lay in the establishment of a separate school and not in the prohibition of religious garb and emblems in public schools.[71] Informed that the Liberals would move an amendment to the bill, Denis advised J. Hogan, Liberal M.L.A. for Vonda that French Catholics would not insist on maintaining religious emblems in public schools and that they would willingly accept such a motion. Denis suggested that Anderson's bill be amended to read "unless a petition signed by at least two-thirds of the resident ratepayers decide otherwise." This would at least permit districts where Catholics formed two-thirds of the population to keep the nuns as teachers.[72] Denis also wrote Gardiner to express the appreciation of French Catholics for the Liberal party's opposition to the bill, and stated the amendment dealing with the qualifications of trustees would be a hard blow to the older generation which had opened up the province and had lacked the opportunity to learn English.[73] Gardiner, who had been defeated largely as a result of his educational policy, had not allowed defeat to undermine his convictions. In thanking Denis for the expressions of gratitude, he stated:

> There were no conditions prevailing in this province which required special legislation singling out certain creeds and nationalities for special treatment. I would resent this legislation very much if it were applied to me or mine and therefore look upon it as most unfair when applied to others with whom I do not see eye to eye on all things.[74]

In the meantime, the A.C.F.C. asked curés to convoke special assemblies in their parishes to register French Catholic opposition to the amendment. Denis stated that, while the A.C.F.C. could not prevent the passage of the legislation, it believed that the government would hesitate to venture beyond the religious to the language issue in public schools if it faced strong opposition.[75] Denis himself apparently feared that Anderson's next move would be directed against the teaching of French. Nearly 100 telegrams of protest from meetings organized in French districts were sent to the Premier but as a result of uncontrollable delays, many reached Regina only after second reading of the bill.[76] For his part, Leddy informed Bennett prior to the introduction of the amendment that he had agreed at the 1928 convention with the policy of removing religious emblems in public school districts where no separate school existed. There had been no discussion regarding the garb of sisters, and Leddy believed that the government had no right to legislate what clothes teachers could wear during school hours. He stated that Anderson was placing himself in a ridiculous situation by insisting "that the sisters must fall in line with the new short skirt styles of today."[77] After the bill had been introduced, Leddy complained to Attorney-General MacPherson that the term "public school" had not been modified in accordance with the resolution passed at the last convention excluding public schools that were exclusively Catholic. As it was now worded, the legislation was "manifestly unjust" to Catholic parents and children where Protestant separate schools existed.[78]

As a result of Leddy's protests and the political implications of the legislation itself, Bennett discussed the issue with Anderson during his visit to Regina. Bennett informed Leddy that no definite conclusions had been reached at the meeting. A caucus had been held later and members had decided to proceed with the amendment as it stood. It was deemed impossible to make an exception for the limited number of public schools in the category indicated by Leddy. It was felt that legislation enacted for public schools must be universal in application. Bennett was convinced that the matter had been settled absolutely and that the government would not alter its policy.[79] Bennett later advised Leddy that C. H. Cahan, a prominent lawyer and Conservative member for St. Lawrence-St. Georges, had closely examined the School Act Amendment and concluded that it was constitutional. Cahan argued that it would not have been so had it not been for the compromise effected by Laurier in 1905.[80]

As could be expected, numerous national, religious and political organizations in French-speaking Canada denounced the actions of the Saskatchewan government and placed Bennett in an embarrassing situation by asking him to bring influence to bear on Anderson or to disavow his actions. In the Commons, Bennett was asked whether or not he endorsed the tactics pursued by Conservatives in Saskatchewan. When an answer was not forthcoming, J. L. Brown (Liberal - Lisgar) stated that Bennett could not repudiate what was being done in Saskatchewan by going to the province of Quebec and making a speech on entirely different lines. According to Brown, "The answer must be given in the place where the offense is committed."[81] Le Soleil, a prominent Liberal journal in Quebec, was quick to point out that the racial and religious issues raised in Saskatchewan had never been disavowed by the federal leader and that Conservative organizations in Quebec were attempting to suppress any discussion of that topic. The editor declared that Bennett would share the responsibility for the iniquities that were being perpetrated in Saskatchewan.[82]

Events in Saskatchewan provided Quebec Liberals with a magnificent opportunity to denounce the Conservative party both at the federal and provincial levels. During the election campaign in Saskatchewan, for example, Le Soleil reproduced the "She-cat of a nun" circular sent by Conservatives to voters in Souris constituency with the comment that Toryism and Orangeism had coalesced. The editor claimed that under a Liberal administration, Quebec never witnessed such degrading literature or appeals to race and religion. There were rumors that Bennett was personally assisting Conservatives in Saskatchewan and the editor called upon him to disavow the tactics used in the campaign.[83] A worried French Canadian supporter in Quebec sent a copy of the editorial to General A. D. McRae and said that such "stuff" was appearing every week and that the party had nobody to nullify the harm that was being done.[84] For its part, l'Action Libérale had a front page picture of the Minister of Justice, E. Lapointe, with the caption, "A Great French Canadian Politician." Inside the same issue was a cartoon of a burning school with Anderson beside it. The caption described the Premier as a crab, a political canker and an abominable fanatic supported by the Lodge and the Klan.[85]

In the Commons, C. H. Cahan (Conservative-St. Lawrence-St.George) charged that editorials and excerpts from the Regina Daily Star were being reprinted and circulated among the many Catholic and French Canadian voters in his constituency to provide a reason why he should not be returned to Parliament. There were allegations that Cahan was a party to the conspiracy to make the Klan supreme in Saskatchewan.[86] Cahan declared that had he been a member of the Saskatchewan Legislature, he could not have supported the recent amendment to the School Act. He reminded the Minister of Justice that in 1896 he forfeited "splendid political prospects" by standing for the rights of Manitoba's minority in a constituency where there were less than 30 Catholic voters and where he had been defeated by less than 300 votes. He declared that Anderson's authority to enact the recent restrictive legislation could be traced back to the amendments accepted by Laurier in 1905 to gain "increased support in the English-speaking provinces in which the Protestants had a majority."[87]

Given the nature of the events in Saskatchewan and the publicity surrounding them in eastern Canada, the same issues could not fail to reemerge in the province during the federal electoral campaign of 1930. The day after receiving his nomination as Conservative candidate in Regina constituency, F. W. Turnbull voiced his indignation at the French Canadians in Saskatchewan who were holding French exams in defiance of Anderson's amendments. Speaking at Edenwold later in the campaign, Turnbull charged that the Liberals were setting race against race in the province.[88] A. G. MacKinnon informed Bennett that he would be unable to sit on the platform during the federal leader's meeting in Regina. MacKinnon had been the party's candidate in the last federal election, but the advisory board of the Regina Conservative Association did not want him to appear because he was a Catholic and because of certain letters he had written during the Arm River by-election.[89] For his part, the editor of the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix looked forward to Bennett's visit, hoping that he would comment on allegations that the federal government was flooding the West with foreigners and forcing the French language on the population. There were signs that the Conservative party in Saskatchewan hoped to turn the Protestantism of voters into an advantage in the federal election. The editor stated that perhaps Bennett had no party advantage to gain by repudiating appeals to race and religion. If Bennett chose to ignore the matter, he not only would lose an opportunity to render a genuine public service but also leave the Conservatives open "to accusations that they accept aid from fomentors of racial and religious animosity."[90]

Addressing his constituents in Regina, the Hon. C. A. Dunning, Minister of Finance, made an appeal for toleration and mutual respect among Canadians of different creeds and races. The Morning Leader praised Dunning's address and declared that he was expounding a "sound doctrine", one which was "the only foundation for the building of a Canadian nation." The editor described the campaign concerning French domination in Saskatchewan as a "game to get votes for the Conservative party" and a "war cry raised when there is no war."[91] On the other hand, the Reverend S. P. Rondeau was quick to reply that Liberal leaders were coming to Saskatchewan to camouflage the real issues. In an open letter to Dunning published in the Sentinel, Rondeau charged that the facts in Saskatchewan were self-evident to all. For twenty-four years, Liberals had provided opportunities to French Catholics "for encroachments, aggression and illegal practices." According to Rondeau, Dunning's attempt to mislead the citizens of Regina clearly indicated that

> the time has come to sweep out of office men who are self-declared supporters of the Roman hierarchy of

> Quebec--that have vowed to overthrow the Public School in Canada; that hierarchy that corrupted with the co-operation of the Liberal Government at Ottawa, the Saskatchewan school system by amending the 'exclusive right' of this province.[92]

French Canadian Tories, on the other hand, were of the opinion that Bennett might win outside of Quebec if he could escape from being identified with the school question raised by Anderson. Quebec Conservatives lamented the absence of a daily press to reach the people and inform them of the true nature of the Saskatchewan situation.[93] In Saskatchewan, the vituperative Daily Star, probably at Bennett's request, drastically altered its editorial comment. So moderate were the editorials in comparison to those of the provincial campaign that people were becoming convinced that the newspaper was really independent.[94]

Many Anglo-Protestant nativists in Saskatchewan regarded Bennett's electoral victory as the dawn of yet another new era in Canadian history. In congratulating the future Prime Minister, J. M. Gallagher of Regina stated that Meighen would be leading the government today had he been far-sighted enough to leave Quebec alone. In playing for French Canadian support and leaving Dr. Edwards out of the cabinet, he lost ground in Ontario and this was the true cause of his defeat. Like many westerners, Gallagher obviously looked to Bennett to save the nation:

> After July 30th you will be Premier & the Roman politicians will flock about you like flies around sugar. I believe you are big enough to form a protestant and british government in Canada; & you don't have to stand on your head & lick the boots of Quebec, or either kiss the Pope's toes.[95]

In the meantime, Premier Taschereau criticized the Saskatchewan government for legislating that English only could be used for religious instruction in schools. Anderson replied by stating that no order-in-council or amendment had been passed relative to language instruction in schools. The existing law had been passed by a Liberal government and the Attorney-General had given a legal interpretation of this legislation.[96] Replying to a letter from the Groupe Pie X de l'A.C.J.C. which had been forwarded by Bennett's office protesting against the amendment, Anderson declared that neither he nor his supporters had "unjustly and fanatically" attacked the Catholic religion. They had only opposed certain practices which had appeared in public schools. Furthermore, Saskatchewan Conservatives had not stated that Catholics could not be good citizens and the Premier stated that some of his strongest supporters were Catholic. The government had not moved to repeal the use of French as a language of instruction in schools. According to Anderson, these provisions had been maintained "out of respect to the historical loyalty of the French people to remain in the law."[97]

In January, 1930, the Quebec West Conservative Club passed a resolution protesting against any amendment affecting religious garb and forwarded it to Bennett.[98] Of more consequence, however, was the resignation of Armand Lavergne, a prominent nationalist, from the executive of the Quebec Conservative Association. Lavergne had asked the executive to pass a resolution censuring Anderson for his educational policies and, when it refused to do so, he resigned claiming that the party was inspired more by the prospect of gaining power than with the defence of principles.[99] As founder of the "57,000 member" Western English-language League, Maloney telegraphed the executive of the Liberal Conservative Association in Ottawa to congratulate it on the "accidental departure" of Lavergne from the ranks of a party which, more than any other, believed "in the loyal connection of the Dominion of Canada with the British Empire." According to Maloney,

Lavergne's

> actions during the war particularly his disagreeable contemptible and highly untruthful language still bears a semblance of putrid memory on the minds of those who detest a traitor and the firebrand whose only object was the disruption of the Empire.100

For its part, the Sentinel declared that interprovincial war had broken out between Quebec and Saskatchewan with the former being the aggressor. The French clerical leaders were launching an attack on the Co-operative Government because of its policy of educational reform. The rallying cry had been provided by Taschereau and Lavergne. Funds were being raised to conduct a campaign against Saskatchewan and the political influence of Quebec would be brought to bear on the government of Saskatchewan to coerce it to relax the enforcement of the school law. The Sentinel was indignant and argued that a British province should not be robbed of its constitutional rights to satisfy the French.[101] A few weeks later, the journal reported that Quebec had eased up its attack on Saskatchewan because Quebec depended on Saskatchewan to maintain its dominance in federal affairs. There had been enough publicity over the enforcement of school legislation in Saskatchewan to supply material for a whispering campaign which would produce maximum results in Quebec without unduly arousing suspicions in the West.[102]

While the amendment affected all public schools controlled by Catholics, it was the French who voiced the strongest opposition to it and who, at first, were prepared to test its constitutionality in the courts. With the exception of Leddy, English and Irish Catholics were predictably silent. There were rumors that English-speaking Catholics desired to substitute the Sisters of Service for French Canadian nuns because the former did not wear a distinctive religious costume and they were all

English-speaking. It was as a result of such propositions that Anderson was able to declare before an Ottawa audience, that the Archbishop of Winnipeg, an Irish Catholic, approved of his School Act amendment.[103] In the meantime, the A.C.E.F.C., speaking also on behalf of German and Ukrainian Catholic trustees, implored the Ordinary of the Ecclesiastical Province of Regina to intercede on their behalf for the purpose of securing financial assistance from the Knights of Columbus to have the legislation studied by lawyers and, if necessary, taken before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The petitioners stated that, for obvious reasons, they themselves could not ask the Knights for this assistance. Furthermore, the K. of C. were not aware of the gravity of the situation and the organization was placed in a delicate position because many of its members were civil servants. The petitioners felt that if the request were made by the hierarchy the outcome would be a "certain success."[104] The State Council of the K. of C., however, categorically refused to adopt a position on the issue on the pretext that the matter was more political than religious. Informing a colleague of the "desertion" of the Knights, Denis remarked:

> Comme ils vont être unanimes nos bons Irlandais quand Anderson va s'en prendre au français, ce qui ne saurait pas tarder.[105]

The attitude of the Knights of Columbus did not deter the French community from seeking a legal opinion from Senator N. A. Belcourt, who had defended the Franco Ontarians in their struggles against Regulation XVII. After examining the territorial ordinances, Belcourt stated that the term "minority" meant the minority in each school district and not in the province as a whole. The fact that Catholics were a minority in the province had little bearing on the question because it was the minority in each district that was the deciding factor.[106] Concerning the teaching of religion in French, Belcourt concluded that prior to and subsequent to 1905, the authorities tolerated a limited use of French in schools. He stressed the fact that this had been nothing more than an act of toleration and could not be construed as a constitutional obligation. Turning to the matter of religious garb and emblems, Belcourt stated that by 1905 the Commissioner of Education had been granted exclusive jurisdiction over the conduct and management of schools. Arguing that French Canadians in Saskatchewan could not claim any rights except those which had been textually inserted into the Saskatchewan Act, Belcourt concluded that the regulations and amendments were intra vires of the provincial government. He added that his opinion was based on the letter of the law and had not been influenced by any other considerations.[107] Nevertheless, he remained fully convinced that the regulation dealing with the language to be used for religious instruction, and the amendment prohibiting religious garb and emblems in public schools were ultra vires along with Regulation XVII because they negated natural law and the historical rights of the French in Canada. He cautioned, however, that he could not guarantee that the courts would uphold this interpretation.[108]

Even more discouraging were the views of Henri Bourassa, the most eloquent defender of the rights of the French language in Canada and a staunch critic of the compromise accepted by Laurier in 1905. According to Bourassa, most people had lost sight of the origin of the present injustice and conflict which was to be found in the substitution of the School Ordinance of 1901 for the original clause 16 of the Autonomy Bills. As a result of this substitution, the minority was not given rights in the province as a whole but only in local school districts. He argued, furthermore, that the separate schools which were perpetuated in 1905 were, for all practical purposes, identical to public schools. Bourassa stated that he had brought these dangers to the attention of Laurier and the hierarchy in 1905, but that they had laughed at him and called him "the prophet of misfortune." According to Bourassa:

> Il arrive aujourd'hui ce qui devait arriver, le jour où un groupe quelconque de fanatiques et de politiciens exploiteurs de préjugés se lingueraient pour supprimer les privilèges de fait dont jouissait le minorité catholique et pour mettre à l'exécution la loi telle qu'elle est. C'est ce que fait Anderson; et même il ne fait pas tout ce qu'il pourrait faire.[109]

He advised his successor at Le Devoir to warn French Catholics in Saskatchewan against adopting a defense which made an abstraction of the position adopted in 1905. The legislation drafted by Anderson was the logical consequence of the stand taken in 1905, "--positivement ou implicitement--par la quasi totalité de leurs chefs ecclésiastiques et civils."[110] On the other hand, Lavergne, who had followed Bourassa in 1905 and voted against the compromise measure, claimed that Anderson's amendment was "absolutely unconstitutional."[111]

As could be expected, the Sentinel described as "a stupid course" the rumor that Catholic authorities in Saskatchewan were planning totest the constitutionality of the legislation secularizing the public schools. The editor could not understand what Catholics hoped to gain as a result of this agitation. It might keep the faithful stirred up with the idea that they had been singled out for persecution and injustice but this propaganda would certainly arouse the Protestant population, a reaction which the bishops should attempt to avoid.[112]

Saskatchewan's French Catholics, in the meantime, were patiently awaiting directives from the episcopacy before adopting a definite positon vis-à-vis the recent amendment. Convinced that immediate action was necessary, Denis convoked a special meeting of the A.C.F.C.-A.C.E.F.C. executives to study the legislation in the presence of Bishop Prud'homme, Mrg. Z.-H. Marois, Vicar Capitular of the Archdiocese of Regina and representatives of the German-speaking clergy.[113] The abbot of the Abbey of Muenster had assured Prud'homme of the support of German Catholics, and the Bishop believed that a reunion prior to the passage of the law would demonstrate to the government that Catholics in Saskatchewan were united in a common front. Attempts were being made to convince the Holy See that Catholics lacked unity and Prud'homme believed that it was essential that Rome be informed of these misrepresentations and convinced of the contrary.[114] The proposed assembly, however, was cancelled at the request of Marois who was ill and who refused to sanction any assembly held in his absence. Denis regretted this decision because the meeting would have demonstrated the perfect accord which existed between different Catholic groups.[115] He believed that Marois' actions had been motivated by the fear that a decision reached now might be censured later by the future Archbishop.[116]

As time passed, many within the French centers of Saskatchewan were becoming perplexed over the absence of an official ecclesiastical pronouncement. The curé of Willow Bunch, for example, complained that directives were not forthcoming from the hierarchy and, consequently, the parishes were left to shift for themselves. He advised the A.C.F.C. that his parish reluctantly had decided to remove crucifixes and religious emblems from classrooms. He expressed concern for the sisters because they did not wish to be deprived of their costumes.[117] It was in the Diocese of Prince-Albert, however, that anxiety was most keenly felt.

Many French-speaking Catholics in the diocese feared that Prud'homme, influenced by pressure from Quebec, might announce that religious communities under his jurisdiction could not modify their costumes despite the willingness of some congregations to make this compromise.[118] The A.C.F.C. was informed that trustees in the St-Brieux School District could not wait any longer than the end of April to sign contracts with lay teachers unless they were definitely assured that the sisters would be in a position to remain in charge of the public school.[119] The curé of St-Brieux informed a colleague at the Bishop's Palace that Prud'homme had stated that he could authorize some modifications to the garb of sisters once the government had acted. In the meantime, however, the curé believed that few districts were willing to risk a violation of the School Act to see what steps the government would adopt. Most districts would reluctantly hire lay teachers if the nuns did not alter their habit to conform with the law. The sisters should be able to inform trustees that as a last resort, they were prepared to modify their garb. The curé felt that Prud'homme should convoke a meeting of school districts and ascertain whether trustees would accept teaching communities with a secularized costume.[120]

The effects of the loss of the sisters' services on the teaching of French would be incalculable and the A.C.F.C. was fully aware of its implications for the future of the French language in Saskatchewan. The loss of the religious communities would be a double calamity because Anderson had already severed the traditional source of recruitment with Quebec. Consequently, Denis sent a circular to parish priests, inquiring whether religious communities in their districts would modify their habit to conform with the amendment and thus retain the public schools under their direction. Despite the fact that this solution did not appeal to Prud'homme, Denis remained convinced that it was the only practical and rational one. The only other alternatives open to French Catholics were a school strike, the establishment of parochial schools and a test case before the courts[121] Some communities indicated that they would modify their garb if requested to do so by the hierarchy,[122] but the majority would not commit themselves until they had consulted with the superiors of their respective orders.[123] One order, however, Les Filles de la Croix, categorically refused to alter its costume on the grounds that such a concession had once been made in republican France and that it had only served to hasten the persecution of Catholic schools in that country.[124]

French Canadian trustees, in the meantime, had consulted with other trustees in an attempt to unite Catholic opposition to the amendment. The A.C.E.F.C. accepted the invitation of the C.S.T.A., which represented primarily German Catholic trustees, to hold a joint convention. The news of this forth-coming convention was not well received by Mgr. Marois, who claimed that the C.S.T.A. was not a Catholic association.[125] Denis, nevertheless, urged all French-speaking trustees to attend the convention scheduled for March 26-27, 1930, and Marois responded to this challenge by issuing a circular letter denouncing Denis' appeal to trustees and the alliance with an alleged non-Catholic group.[126] A reconciliation with Marois was finally effected when the C.S.T.A. changed its name from Christian to the Catholic School Trustees Association, and when Denis and its president, W. F. Hargarten, publicly apologized for their disobedience and lack of respect toward their ecclesiastical superior.[127] At the convention itself, resolutions were passed censuring Anderson for his amendments and the regulation requiring that religious instruction be given only in the English language.[128]

For its part, the hierarchy would not issue a pronouncement until the new Archbishop-elect, J. C. McGuigan, former Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Edmonton, took possession of his see.[129] The new prelate apparently favored a modification of religious costumes to comply with the amendment and he was ready to ask the sisters in his diocese to do so. It was believed that Prud'homme would adopt the same position in order to avoid creating the impression that there was a difference of opinion between the two dioceses.[130] In July, 1930, McGuigan, Prud'homme, Bishop Ovide Charlebois, O.M.I., of Keewatin, and the Abbot of Muenster met in Regina to discuss the attitude to be taken vis-à-vis the amendment. It was decided that the bishops would protest against the "unjust" legislation but that since it was already in force, Catholics would accept it to avoid creating further complications. The prelates agreed to remove crucifixes from public schools, to teach catechism in French outside of regular school hours and to have the nuns modify their garb.[131]

McGuigan later informed the Apostolic Delegate to Canada that Catholics in Saskatchewan had protested energetically, and he cited Prud'homme's circular letter, the remonstrances of Catholic trustees, parishes and journals as examples.[132] Antipathy towards Catholic schools had diminished somewhat but it was judged inopportune and perhaps dangerous to continue protesting against the legislation. However, if the government adopted other measures at the beginning of the school year which infringed on Catholic rights, the hierarchy would be obligated to issue a protest.[133] The Apostolic Delegate was also advised that the prelates were of the opinion that they could not successfully challenge the constitutionality of the legislation in the courts. Thus, with the permission of the Holy See, the hierarchy had decided to ask the religious communities to modify their costume. Discussing the removal of crucifixes and religious emblems, the Archbishop stated that the instructions of the bishops were in accordance with those of the Congregation for Extraordinary Affairs. By having the emblems removed, the impression was created that Catholics had not been subjected to anti-religious prescriptions.[134]

Bishop Charlebois, who had witnessed the suppression of Catholic school rights in his Diocese of Keewatin when the boundaries of Manitoba were extended in 1912, favored the adoption of a much firmer stand against the Saskatchewan legislation.[135] Charlebois was not fully convinced of McGuigan's sincerity because the Archbishop was Irish. He believed, however, that J.-M.-R. Villeneuve, O.M.I., the new Bishop of Gravelbourg, could have a great influence over McGuigan.[136] Villeneuve himself was accused of not having been able to preserve the costume of the sisters in Gravelbourg. He stated privately that he had had nothing to do with the decision to secularize religious costumes except to encourage the sisters to make the sacrifice and submit to it. A realist, Villeneuve argued that even wise men would have found it difficult to act differently in the same situation. To preserve the nuns' garb would have necessitated the closure of the convent as a public school and, in the midst of a recession, the imposition of an additional $20,000. in taxes on Gravelbourg's 200 Catholic families.[137]

In the end, the religious communities would modify their habits by wearing a toga to conceal their uniforms and by replacing their headdress with what inspectors were to describe as a "French widow's bonnet." Unfortunately, the French community would enjoy only a brief respite once the question of religious garb had been resolved by the hierarchy and the solution accepted by the sisters and the government. The attention of the French minority would soon be focused on the status of the French language within the school system as Anderson acted upon his announcement to conduct an investigation into conditions in French school districts. Despite assurances by the Premier that the inquiry would be impartial, French Canadians had good reason to be alarmed. The nativist host had not been disappointed with the actions of the new government which it had done so much to place in power. Six months after the Liberal demise, the exchange of teaching certificates with Quebec had been suppressed, religion had to be taught in English during regular school hours, and public schools in Catholic districts had been secularized. Never had the cultural identity of French Catholics in Saskatchewan been so severely threatened. After nearly twenty-five years of crying in the wilderness, the nativist element was on the verge of realizing its cultural millennium. Only one obstacle remained to impede the spread of cultural conformity in Saskatchewan. The primary course in the French language was a vital barrier against assimilation, a fact which Anderson and the nativist-patriotic element were fully cognizant of.

FOOTNOTES

[1] PAC, Bennett Papers, Gordon to Bennett, June 21, 1921, 44200.

[2] Daily Star, June 17, 1929.

[3] Ibid., July 6, 1929.

[4] Ibid., Aug. 16, 1929.

[5] Ibid., Aug. 19, 1929.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., Aug. 26, 1929.

[8] Ibid., Sept. 9, 1929.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., Oct. 1, 1929.

[11] Ibid., Dec. 21, 1929.

[12] Ibid., Oct. 18, 1929.

[13] Ibid., Nov. 18, 1929.

[14] Ibid., Dec. 12, 1929.

[15] Ibid., Dec. 7, 1929.

[16] Ibid., Sept. 6, 1929.

[17] Ibid., Sept. 26, 1929.

[18] Sentinel, Sept. 26, 1929.

[19] Daily Star, Sept. 26, 1929.

[20] Sentinel, Nov. 14, 1929.

[21] Ibid., Nov. 28, 1929.

[22] Star-Phoenix, Sept. 28, 1929.

[23] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 67B, Anderson to Denis, Oct. 7, 1929.

[24] *Ibid.*, File 74, Delâge to Denis, 13 fév. 1930.

[25] *Daily Star*, Oct. 14, 1929.

[26] *Ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1929. In 1919 the Department had sought an opinion on this issue and the Attorney-General's office decided that there were no restrictions on the language used for religious instruction, and school districts were advised accordingly. AS, Turgeon Papers, G.F., Turgeon to Denis 14 mai 1919, (Personnelle).

[27] *Daily Star*, Dec. 17, 1929.

[28] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 67A, Denis to Tavernier, 17 jan. 1930.

[29] *Ibid.*, Denis to Marois, 24 jan. 1930.

[30] *Ibid.*, File 67B, Anderson to Denis, Jan. 30, 1930.

[31] *Patriote*, 29 jan. 1930.

[32] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 84, Demay to de Margerie, 21 août 1930.

[33] *Ibid.*, File 72B, Rapport de la Tournée de Mr. Raymond Denis, Octobre et Novembre 1930.

[34] *Daily Star*, Nov. 9, 1929.

[35] *Sentinel*, Nov. 14, 1929; *Star-Phoenix*, Oct. 30, 1929.

[36] PAC, Bennett Papers, Leddy to Bennett, Nov. 6, 1929, 25469-470.

[37] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 70, Nedelec to Monsieur, 25 nov. 1929.

[38] *Ibid.*, de Margerie to Nedelec, 16 déc. 1929.

[39] *Daily Star*, Oct. 28, 1929. It is obvious that the journal was remarkably misinformed on the status of the French language in Saskatchewan schools.

[40] *Ibid.*, May 20, 1929.

[41] Mgr J.-H. Prud'homme, "Circulaire au Clergé," 22 déc. 1929, *Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires*, (n.d., n.p.), Vol. II, pp. 26-27.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-29.

[43] *Daily Star*, Jan. 24, 1930.

[44] *Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1930.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] *Sentinel*, Feb. 27, 1930.

[47] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 67B, Denis to Anderson, Feb. 1, 1930, (Personal).

[48] *Ibid.*, File 67A, Denis to Marois, 24 jan. 1930.

[49] *Ibid.*, File 67B, Anderson to Denis, Feb. 4, 1930, (Personal).

[50] Ibid., File 75A, Baudoux to Cher Ami, jan. 24, 1930.

[51] *Journals*, 1929-30, p. 11.

[52] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 67B, Anderson to Denis, Feb. 4, 1930, (Personal).

[53] *Journals*, 1929-30, p. 157.

[54] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 66, Bill No. 1 of 1930.

[55] AS, Turgeon Papers, G.F., Turgeon to Adam, 24 jan. 1918.

[56] *Ibid.*, Education, 5 (13), (Anderson) to Brooks, Oct. 29, 1929.

[57] *Journals*, 1929-30, p. 474.

[58] *Ibid.*, 474-75.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 509.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 513.

[61] *Star-Phoenix*, March 1, 1930.

[62] *Journals*, 1929-30, pp. 483-85.

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 485-86.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 491.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 503.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 504.

[67] *Daily Star*, Feb. 20, 1930.

[68] *Ibid.*, March 7, 1930.

[69] *Ibid.*, March 6, 1930.

[70] *Ibid.*, April 21, 1930.

[71] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 97, Protest of A.C.E.F.C. and C.S.T.A.

[72] *Ibid.*, File 68H, Denis to Hogan, Feb. 27, 1930.

[73] *Ibid.*, Denis to Gardiner, March 13, 1930.

[74] *Ibid.*, Gardiner to Denis, March 17, 1930.

[75] *Ibid.*, File 33B, Denis to Monsieur le Curé, 19 fév. 1930.

[76] *Ibid.*, File 8A, Denis to Marois, 8 mars 1930.

[77] PAC, Bennett Papers, Leddy to Bennett, Nov. 6, 1929, 25470.

[78] *Ibid.*, Leddy to MacPherson, Feb. 17, 1930, 25516.

[79] *Ibid.*, Bennett to Leddy, March 17, 1930, (Personal), 25518.

[80] *Ibid.*, Bennett to Leddy, April 12, 1930, (Personal), 25560.

[81] *Debates*, 1930, p. 2131.

[82] *Le Soleil*, 25 jan. 1930.

[83] *Ibid.*, 23 mai 1929.

[84] PAC, Bennett Papers, Robillard to McRae, May 23, 1929, 26015.

[85] *L'Action Libérale*, Vol. 1, No. 2, cited in *Debates*, 1930, pp. 2131-32.

[86] *Debates*, 1930, p. 1550.

[87] *Ibid.*, pp. 1548-50.

[88] *Morning Leader*, July 12, 1930.

[89] PAC, Bennett Papers, MacKinnon to Bennett, Jan. 21, 1930, 20052.

[90] *Star-Phoenix*, Jan. 20, 1930.

[91] *Morning Leader*, Feb. 11, 1930.

[92] *Sentinel*, Feb. 27, 1930.

[93] PAC, Bennett Papers, (undecipherable) to Sen. Pope, Feb. 20, 1930, 18424.

[94] *Ibid.*, Gordon to Bennett, Aug. 4, 1930, 380473.

[95] *Ibid.*, Gallagher to Bennett, June 20, 1930, 128654.

[96] *Sentinel*, Jan. 2, 1920.

[97] PAC, Bennett Papers, Anderson to Perley, Dec. 12, 1930, 351001-002.

[98] *Morning Leader*, Jan. 18, 1930.

[99] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 68N, Lavergne to Denis, 7 fév. 1930. Lavergne was the independent Nationalist member for Montmagny when the Autonomy Bills were brought down in 1905. He also voiced his opposition to the compromise adopted by Laurier in an address before his constituents which was later published under the title La Vérité sur la Question Scolaire du Nord-Ouest (1907). Lavergne was re-elected to Parliament as a Conservative in 1930 and served as Deputy Speaker until his death in 1935.

[100] PAC, Bennett Papers, Maloney to Exec. of Lib.-Cons. Association, Jan. 27, 1930, 19043.

[101] Sentinel, Feb. 6, 1930.

[102] Ibid., Feb. 27, 1930.

[103] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 75, Le Comité d'Administration de la C.O.J.C., Lettre Circulaire, 25 avril 1932.

[104] Ibid., File 66, Mémorandum à NN.SS.les Ordinaires de la Province.

[105] Ibid., File 68E, Denis to Frémont, 27 fév. 1930.

[106] Ibid., File 67C, Belcourt to Denis, 17 jan. 1930.

[107] Ibid., Belcourt to Denis, 6 mars 1930.

[108] Ibid., 17 mars 1930.

[109] Ibid., File 68C, Bourassa to Héroux, 6 mars 1930.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid., File 68N, Lavergne to Denis, 7 fév. 1930.

[112] Sentinel, May 1, 1930.

[113] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 68A, Denis to Marois, 8 fév. 1930.

[114] Ibid., File 65B, Prud'homme to Bourdel, 15 fév. 1930.

[115] Ibid., File 68F, Denis to Prud'homme, 12 fév. 1930.

[116] Ibid., File 68G, Denis to Sutor, 17 fév. 1930.

[117] Ibid., File 67A, Kugener to Denis, 31 jan. 1930.

[118] Ibid., File 84, Demay to de Margerie, 2 avril 1930.

[119] Ibid., Demay to Denis, 2 avril 1930.

[120] Ibid., File 65B, Leconte to Bourdel, 3 avril 1930.

[121] *Ibid.*, File 67A, Denis to Pacquette, 30 avril 1930. (Confidentielle).

[122] *Ibid.*, Pacquette to Denis, 1 mai 1930.

[123] *Ibid.*, Soeur Louis to M. le Président, 5 mai 1930.

[124] *Ibid.*, Mathieu to Denis, 9 mai 1930.

[125] *Ibid.*, File 8A, Marois to Denis, March 9, 1930, (Telegram).

[126] *Ibid.*, File 65A, Mgr Z.-H. Marois, "Circulaire au Clergé Régulier et Séculier du Diocèse de Régina," 17 mars 1930.

[127] *Ibid.*, File 8A, Marois to Denis, March 26, 1930, (Telegram).

[128] *Ibid.*, File 8B, Résolutions adoptées au congrès.

[129] *Ibid.*, Denis to Lemieux, 12 mai 1930.

[130] *Ibid.*, File 69A, Denis to Vanier, 7 juin 1930.

[131] G. Carrière, O.M.I., *Martyr du Devoir*, (manuscript copy), Vol. IV, pp. 171-72. The author wishes to thank Father Carrière for making the relevant portions of this manuscript biography of Bishop Charlebois available for consultation.

[132] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

[133] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

[134] *Ibid.*, p. 173.

[135] *Ibid.*

[136] Archives of the Archdiocese of Quebec, Charlebois to Villeneuve, 17 juillet 1930. The author is indebted to Father Carrière for this reference.

[137] G. Carrière, o.m.i., *Docteur du Christ*. *Le Cardinal Jean-Marie-Roderique Villeneuve, o.m.i.*, Vol. IX, p. 2304 (manuscript copy). The author wishes to thank Father Carrière for making the relevant portions of this biography available for examination.

CHAPTER VII

THE SUPPRESSION OF FRENCH LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION IN SASKATCHEWAN SCHOOLS

While Anderson's School Act amendment prohibiting the presence of religious garb and emblems in public schools and the departmental regulations affecting the exchange of teaching certificates with Quebec and the language to be used for religious instruction met with the approval of nativists, there were, nevertheless, many who felt that the government should proceed with a thorough policy of educational reform. There were other outstanding issues such as the suppression of separate schools and Catholic membership on the Educational Council, and the abolition of French language instruction which still remained high on the list of nativist priorities. Given the prevailing climate of opinion, the French community was not certain whether the government would accept the modifications made to religious garb as compliance with the intent of the legislation brought down in 1930, or whether pressure would be brought to bear on the Premier to insist on a total secularization of schools and their personnel. Largely as a result of the new philosophy which permeated the Department of Education, inspectors began to display more than their customary zeal in singling out violations of the School Act, particularly in non-Anglo-Saxon districts. In addition, nativists took advantage of a sympathetic government to denounce and expose the machinations of school boards controlled by French Canadian trustees.

For his part, Anderson had announced publicly that the status of French language instruction would be studied, and he had indicated privately to supporters that "necessary action" would be taken following the report of the special investigation in French school districts.[1] He also insisted that teachers who received unfavorable reports on their ability to speak English be replaced even if this meant replacing the school board by an official trustee who was more amenable to the Department's wishes.[2] In view of the heightened emotions in the province and the possible imposition of official trustees, the French community could not but feel that "necessary action" meant the suppression of French language instruction regardless of the findings of the investigation. The Premier, irrespective of his personal views, had political pledges to redeem and many supporters of his government made no effort to disguise their antipathy toward French-speaking Catholics or the fact that they felt that the hour of deliverance was at hand. These Anglo-Saxon zealots desired to eradicate everything that was an impediment to cultural conformity. To those who equated national unity with cultural homogeneity, the teaching of French in Saskatchewan schools was an intolerable obstacle.

In the meantime, the Daily Star continued its relentless though pedantic campaign to expose the illegal inroads of bilingualism in the western provinces. It prided itself on being the only daily newspaper in Saskatchewan which enlightened the public on the machinations of the Quebec movement. The other journals merely published the misleading assertions supplied by Postmaster General Veniot, "the under-cover leader of the movement to force French upon the West."[3] At the annual convention of the Saskatchewan Postmasters' Association, G. J. Bent of Hatfield moved a resolution requesting that the association place itself on record as favoring the removal of the French language from all postal forms and stamps in the province. He claimed that the French language did not meet with the approval of post office patrons in Hatfield and that the sale of postal notes had declined by more than forty percent in 1929. The Daily Star prefaced this capsule report of the proceedings with the following headline in large red letters: "BILINGUALISM HIT."[4] For his part, J. H. Hill informed the editor of the reasons why he refused to play "O Canada" to open R. B. Bennett's meeting at the Regina Armories. He protested that "O Canada" was "part and parcel of a propaganda for making Saskatchewan a bilingual province" and that there was nothing in that song to arouse fealty to King and Empire. "The Maple Leaf," on the other hand, contained "positive declarations" of loyalty to monarch and motherland and it was, therefore, a true national anthem.[5] The proprietor of Regina's White Lunch was also obviously concerned with the essence of Canadianism when he ran the following advertisement:

> This firm is an entirely all-Regina project. Money spent here stays in Regina. As our name implies, all our employees are white, and by white, we mean all Canadian.[6]

As could be expected, the Sentinel supported the nativist stand of the Daily Star with its own Francophobic allegations. The Sentinel argued, for example, that under the Union Government, Quebec had been isolated and the outlook for Catholicism had not been encouraging. In the period 1921-1925, however, French leaders consumated an alliance between Quebec and the West by promising free trade to the West and making Quebec surrender its preference for protective tariffs. The people of Saskatchewan came to realize that their liberties were being menanced and they overthrew the papal party in June, 1929. The Quebec hierarchy, nevertheless, was still attempting to dominate the province by controlling educational matters.[7] To counter the pernicious propaganda in favor of bilingualism, the journal urged Orangemen to use special stamps on their correspondence to propagate their principles. These stamps bore the imprint: "In British Canada Why not One Flag One Language One School?"[8]

The official use of the French language in Saskatchewan became a subject of controversy during the proceedings of a provincial Royal Commission and it is ironical to note that the subject did not arise as a result of the allegations of nativists but as a consequence of statements made by one witness. In his testimony before the Royal Commission to Inquire into Statements Made In Statutory Declarations and Other Matters, T. R. Duckworth, a former divisional inspector in the Saskatchewan Provincial Police charged that, under the former administration, there had been political interference in police matters. He stated that Gravelbourg, Willow Bunch and other French districts received French-speaking police officers and that many proceedings in Justice of the Peace courts were carried out in the French language.[9] The Commissioners saw no objection to the posting of French-speaking officers in French districts and claimed that it was "quite proper" and convenient for all concerned. From the evidence submitted, they concluded that French was not being used in court proceedings as often as Duckworth had hinted. Being under the impression that Chapter 22, Statutes of Canada, 1891, dealing with the official use of French and English in the Courts of the North-West Territories, had not been repealed, the Commissioners ventured the opinion that the use of French in Saskatchewan courts was legal.[10]

Under the red headline, "Anti-Bilingual Law Forecast," the Daily Star reported Anderson's reaction to these remarks. Before an audience in Strasbourg, the Premier stated that the Attorney-General was studying the matter and, if it was found that Laurier's government and Walter

Scott's had colluded in 1905 to make more than one language official in Saskatchewan, the present government was fully prepared to introduce legislation to "remedy the situation."[11] Anderson claimed to be voicing the sentiment of the people of Saskatchewan, including its French citizens, when he affirmed that English should be the only official language in the province's courts and legislature.[12]

During the inquiry, P. M. Anderson, counsel to act in defence of any persons affected by statements made before the Commission, argued that the provisions of the North-West Territories Act dealing with the use of French in courts had never been repealed. He declared, consequently, that any person was justified in answering questions or providing evidence in French. He affirmed, furthermore, that it was illogical for certain members of the government to ask for an investigation into something that was perfectly legal. One of the Commissioners, Mr. Justice MacKenzie, suggested that the portion of the investigation dealing with the use of the French language in courts should be dropped.[13] J. G. Diefenbaker, counsel to assist in the support of statements made by Duckworth, objected to dropping that part of the investigation dealing with the use of French in courts.[14] In the meantime, the Commissioners ascertained that Chapter 22, Statutes of Canada, 1891, had, in fact, been repealed by Parliament, and they contended that this placed the official use of the French language in "a doubtful position." Under the circumstances, they deemed it unwise to express themselves "with greater finality."[15]

While the discussion relating to the French language was of secondary importance to the investigating body, the Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement appointed in January, 1930, would directly scrutinize another long standing, contentious issue. Speaking before the

Commission hearings in Prince Albert, Bishop Lloyd estimated that in the next census only twenty-seven percent of Saskatchewan's population would be designated as British stock. To counter this "dangerous situation," Lloyd proposed the admission of 100,000 preferred immigrants over a three year period. Of this number 75,000 would be British, 10,000 from Scandinavia and the remainder from northern Europe. He claimed that Canada would pay dearly if central European immigration were not curtailed and he pointed to the criminal tendencies of these people.[16] In presenting its views, the Ku Klux Klan stated that many people appearing before the Commission were speaking from a partisan standpoint. The Klan, on the other hand, had no personal motive of profit and its considerations were "all of a public character." The Knights recommended that immigration from non-preferred countries cease for a period of five years and then be continued under a rigid quota based on the census of 1901 when the population was predominantly British. The K.K.K. also requested that governments assume exclusive responsibility over immigration and, hence, prevent religious bodies from exercising any influence over policy.[17] For its part, the Grand Orange Lodge reiterated its belief in Anglo-Saxon predominance and supported the quota system. It was opposed to group settlement and to the principle of assisted passages.[18]

The recommendations of the Commission, however, were obviously less than the patriots had anticipated. It recommended, for example, that every encouragement should be given to British immigration but it was not in favor of a quota law. The Commission urged that jurisdiction over immigration in Saskatchewan be vested with the provincial Minister of Immigration and Natural Resources. With the exception of grants to repatriate Canadians and assistance to British boys of school-leaving age, the

Commission recommended that no financial aid be granted to immigrants.[19] On the other hand, the Federal government was urged to compel immigrants who had resided in Canada for more than seven years to become naturalized. Furthermore, all immigrants to Canada should signify their intention of becoming citizens within six months of their arrival.[20]

In the meantime, the amendment prohibiting the display of religious garb and emblems in public schools came into force on July 1, 1930. Most of the religious orders who were affected by the legislation had altered their habit in a way that it could not be distinguished as the distinctive garb of their community. However, while this external alteration complied with the letter of the law, it was not immediately known whether this solution would be acceptable to the authorities. French Canadians expressed the fear that Anderson might insist on more than a modification of religious costume and, in that event, the A.C.F.C. advised French Canadian school districts that it was prepared to proceed with a test case in the courts.[21] Anderson himself obviously had second thoughts concerning the scope of the legislation and on September 24, he asked the Attorney-General's Office whether the clause, "while wearing the garb of any such religious faith," was comprehensive enough to prevent a teacher from covering a religious costume by a nearly identical black gown and wearing a headdress that was similar to that worn by members of a religious order.[22] The Law Officers of the Crown expressed the opinion that the words referred to clothing which was worn outwardly and which was visible. The term "garb" implied a costume of a distinctive character and the total or partial concealment of a religious garb by some other garment would make it very difficult to secure a conviction unless it was shown that the religious garb "itself was visible and recognisable as such from time to time." Furthermore, there was no prohibition against wearing clothing that was similar to that worn by religious communities. The Deputy Attorney-General suggested that the section be amended by phrasing it in terms similar to those dealing with the wearing of military uniforms.[23]

This advice was not heeded but shortly after the opening of classes in September, 1930, the Department of Education requested special reports from its inspectors in areas where nuns were teaching in public schools. The inspector in Odessa School District reported that the sisters wore an ordinary black street dress with a white collar and white silk bow. They also wore a small, tight-fitting, felt street hat commonly worn by girls. There were no religious emblems in the school.[24] The Chief Superintendent informed the Deputy Minister that the sisters in Gravelbourg had discarded their religious garb and were wearing long black dresses, trimmed with a white or grey collar. The teachers wore no hats and there were no crucifixes in evidence.[25] The inspector in Stobart School District reported that the nuns wore a university gown during regular school hours. They had removed their crosses and rosaries and on their heads they wore "the old style French bonnet."[26] In Bruno School District the inspector's report indicated that the nuns wore long black dresses with a plain short cape and hat.[27] Inspector H. E. Everts reported that there were no religious emblems in classrooms or school premises in Allen School District, but he was far from satisfied with the costume adopted by the sisters. He described their attire as a floor-length university gown, closed in the front and with long sleeves. On their heads they wore a felt hat with the brim turned up in the front.[28] The inspector claimed that the costume was readily distinguishable on the streets as the attire of nuns, but one could not definitely state which order it belonged to. The sisters themselves stated that this was not the garb prescribed by their order and, hence, they were not violating the provisions of the School Act by wearing it. Everts felt that if the intention of the amendment had been to suppress costumes which designated the wearers as members of a religious order, the legislation was being violated by the practices he described.[29]

Anderson's reaction to Evert's report is not known, but it is apparent that in succeeding investigations and reports officials became more exacting when passing judgement on possible infractions of the School Act. Trustees in the Holdfast School District, for example, were advised that the sisters in charge of the school were wearing a distinctive black gown and that this was not satisfactory.[30] The board of the St. Brieux School District was advised that the long black dress and shorter loose gown and veiled cap adopted by the sisters did not comply with the intention of the law and that, henceforth, the district would not be entitled to any grant until sectarian influences had been entirely removed.[31] Trustees in the Marcelin School District were advised that in view of the fact that the sisters had kept their headdress, the district would not be eligible to receive grants.[32] In November, the inspector in charge of the School Organization Branch issued directives that public schools under the direction of nuns were not to receive any grants without prior authorization from the Deputy Minister.[33] Inspectors were instructed to visit these twenty-eight schools to determine whether they complied with the provisions of the School Act. From the reports that are available, it would appear that only one inspector felt that the provisions concerning religious garb were being violated.[34] Another inspector reported the presence of crucifixes and religious emblems on his visit but added that they had been removed the following day after he had advised the board of the possible penalties involved.[35]

Closely related to the question of religious garb was the matter of schools held in buildings not owned by the board, especially those conducted in premises owned by the Catholic Church. Shortly after assuming office in 1929, Anderson had informed officials in his department that henceforth, the government would insist on public schools being conducted in premises owned by the school district.[36] Between December 7, 1929, and January 3, 1930, thirty-five school districts were advised of the Department's new policy and asked whether their respective boards were prepared to undertake the erection of suitable public school buildings in 1930.[37] The government's new policy was incorporated into an amendment to the Schools Grants Act stipulating that after January 1, 1931, no grant would be paid beyond a one year period to schools utilizing buildings not owned by the district. School boards were informed that, except in cases of emergency, the Department did not intend to make any exceptions to this new policy.[38]

The depression, however, rendered this legislation inoperative. School districts who found it difficult to collect enough taxes to meet teachers' salaries could not be expected to incur the additional cost of constructing school buildings. Anderson realized the financial predicament facing school boards and he gave permission to some to continue using rented property for public school purposes in 1932. School districts were accordingly informed that if they found it necessary to continue using property not owned by the board, they were to apply to the Department for permission to do so.[39] Permission to continue using church property for school purposes does not appear to have been refused to districts who faced financial problems. Authorization to use existing temporary quarters continued to be granted on an annual basis as late as

1935.[40]

Departmental records indicate that in 1929, seventeen public school districts operated thirty-nine rooms in buildings owned by the Catholic Church. Twenty-four other school districts rented twenty-eight rooms from various sources including five Protestant churches.[41] Statistics prepared by the Department early in 1932 list twenty-four Catholic public school districts and eight Catholic separate school districts as conducting school in premises not owned by school boards.[42] In April, 1934, twenty Catholic public school districts still rented forty-one rooms from the Catholic Church. On the other hand, forty-six other school districts conducted school in fifty-four rooms not owned by their respective boards. Included in this latter category were four districts renting five rooms from the United Church, two districts renting two rooms from the Anglican Church, and one district renting one room from the Pentecostal hall.[43]

Forced by the depression to permit boards to continue using buildings not owned by the district for school purposes, the Department, nevertheless, did not relax its determination to ensure that public schools were kept free of sectarian emblems. In October, 1931, the Chief Inspector of Schools, J. H. McKechnie, issued a memorandum to inspectors asking them to report on the presence of religious emblems in public schools and the number of districts employing nuns as teachers.[44] This information revealed that religious emblems were displayed on the outside of buildings in four school districts and this disclosure came as a surprise to the Chief Inspector who asked that these cases be cleared up as soon as possible, "preferably within the next week or ten days."[45] In a subsequent memorandum, McKechnie asked inspectors to note particularly whether there were emblems "*in or on any public school premises*."[46] The inspector who had reported the presence of exterior emblems replied that the buildings in question were owned by the Catholic Church and that they were adorned with a plain cross on the outside. The cross was part of the structural plan of the building, and all other emblems had been removed once the amendment came into force.[47] Another inspector reported that a cross was also displayed on the exterior of the walls of the convent at Leipzig. He added, however, that it was evident that the convent authorities and the school board had "gone as far as they could without altering the building itself."[48] The whole matter was referred to Dr. Huff, the Commissioner of Education, who decided that it was not advisable to raise the matter where a rented building was concerned. Such premises were temporary quarters and districts had to obtain the Department's permission to use them. Furthermore, where the cross formed part of the permanent edifice, it would be impossible to have it removed.[49] On the other hand, it is interesting to note that in at least one French Canadian district,trustees, at the request of the Department, erased the word *école* from the inscription on the front of the school.[50]

There were other means whereby the Department sought to secure greater conformity to educational norms. In some French Catholic districts, for example, the Protestant minority not only objected to the presence of nuns and Catholic symbols, but also to the fact that there were no Protestant teachers on staff. Where the Protestant minority was sufficiently large, the Department insisted that a Protestant teacher be employed to redress the grievances of the dissident ratepayers. Under pressure from the government trustees in the Poirier School District reluctantly agreed to employ one Protestant teacher, and this action received the approbation of Bishop Villeneuve of Gravelbourg who felt that, in the circumstances, the board had acted very wisely.[51] In the wake of similar problems in Marcelin School District, trustees informed the Department that they were willing to employ a Protestant teacher and to provide a room for the exclusive use of the children of Protestant ratepayers. The board was promptly informed that the Department would not condone the segregation of Protestant children.[52]

Aware that their grievances would be more readily listened to by a government that had pledged itself to a policy of educational reform, Nativists and dissatisfied ratepayers had no hesitation in making their views known to the Department. Anglo-Protestant parents in the North Creek School District, for example, petitioned for the appointment of an official trustee to conduct the affairs of the district. Under the "present Roman Catholic Quebec French majority" the petitioners complained that education seemed to consist only of a knowledge of French and catechism.[53] For his part, H. Squires drew the Department's attention to the "gratuitous insult" being perpetuated to the Union Jack and British people in Zenon Park School District by the "patois speaking Catholic subjects of the Vatican state." He claimed that these "renegades" had surmounted the school flag pole with a cruciform ornament and, hence, every time the Union Jack was flown, it was subordinate to the emblem of a foreign power. Squires urged the Premier to use his authority to remove this offensive ornament because these "potential rebels" should not be permitted to "insult the flag under which they skulk."[54] An inspector was sent out to conduct a special investigation and in his report, he doubted that the ornament in question, which resembled an inverted three leaf clover, could be the cause of controversy because it was "solely intended to be ornamental." The inspector also noted that the complainant was not a resident of the district.[55] The Rosetown Klan wrote Anderson inquiring whether members of Catholic orders could wear their garb while attending normal school. The Klan hinted that complaints against this practice were being voiced and that there were rumors that the sisters were being given preference over other students.[56] Ratepayers in the Quinton Protestant Separate School District informed the Premier that the real issue went beyond the prohibition of religious garb and emblems. They argued that persons such as nuns who were closely associated with a religious denomination "should not be allowed to conduct public schools--clerical or otherwise." In advising Anderson of their belief that separate schools should not be permitted, the minority ratepayers obviously had not considered the safeguards of their own status in the district.[57]

It became obvious, however, that there were many within the Anglo-Protestant population who, for ~~one~~ reason or another, were dissatisfied with the government's policy. John Tyson, a ratepayer in Hillview School District complained to Anderson that Inspector Sexsmith had thrown a piece of chalk at his son to attract his attention and had hit him on the back of the head. An angry father informed the Premier:

> I followed your recent election campaign closely and I am a protestant, but I am compelled to believe that it might be less injurious to my children's eyes to look upon a symbol of Christ hanging on the school wall, than to have one of your inspectors hurling chalk at their heads.[58]

A resident of Kindersley informed the editor of the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix that those who had supported Anderson had hoped to see religion banned from public schools. In actual fact, however, children in numerous public schools were being taught the Lord's Prayer and to sing hymns during school hours. These practices were an injustice to those who were not Protestant or who professed no religious faith. He went on to allege that at normal school, those of the Jewish faith were refusing to join in the rendering of hymns from the Presbyterian Book of Praise. Furthermore, in Kindersley, a "reverend Gentleman" was calling upon the public schools. The electorate had made its views known on the school question, but religious influences still prevailed. It was time for citizens and ratepayers to wake up![59] For his part, G. A. Newsham of Great Deer Lake informed Anderson that irregularities concerning religious garb were being committed in public schools. If the sisters could comply with the School Act by wearing a cloak to conceal their garb, Newsham argued that the Premier's "pet child" had been emasculated before it was born and that no public utterances in defense of the amendment were required.[60] Newsham went on to suggest amendments to the clauses prohibiting religious garb and emblems. He argued that an exception should be made for crucifixes "which shall not be larger than what is necessary to knock an ox down with." As a further refinement, religious garb could not be worn "except occasionally and not oftener than once a month."[61] He went on to warn the Premier that members of the government were not as firm as they should be in their attitude toward the amendment and cautioned that this could have serious repercussions for the Conservative party in the next provincial election.[62]

Headlines in the Sentinel informed the Protestant public that French Catholics in Willow Bunch were openly defying the School Act. The journal revealed that while the nuns did not wear their costume in the classroom, a sister in full garb supervised the children during recess.

Furthermore, a public school pupil who had been reprimanded by a nun was forced to kneel as a punishment. The pupils, including those of the Protestant faith, were forced to receive the superior of the convent at the beginning of the fall term. At the end of September, report cards written in French and signed by the superior, were handed to the pupils by the priest. The climax of these sectarian actions occured when the Catholic bishop paid his first official visit to Willow Bunch and declared a school holiday, thereby depriving Protestant scholars of a day of study. The editor also commented that the flag of the Empire never flew over the school.[63]

After this exposé was brought to his attention, Anderson instituted an immediate inquiry and ordered the Deputy Minister to withhold all grants payable to the district pending a satisfactory reply to the allegations.[64] An investigation revealed that the Sentinel's report had been highly exaggerated; it made no mention of the fact that the nuns were teaching in a private school and that they did not interfere with the conduct of the public school.[65] The inquiry also revealed that the condition of Protestants was not as deplorable as that which had been depicted by the Sentinel. For example, twelve Protestant school children, at the request of their parents, attended classes in rooms rented from the convent while two other pupils of the same faith attended the other public school room in the town.[66] Nevertheless, the executive of the Willow Bunch Constituency Conservative Association voiced its disappointment that a proper public school had not been built in the village, and it urged the government to take immediate steps to change the administration of the "so called public school."[67] A few months later, Anderson was informed by this same group that there were insinuations that the government had not effected a change in the conduct of schools in areas such as Willow Bunch and Gravelbourg. The Premier was advised that if these conditions were allowed to persist, it would add to the existing dissatisfaction with school administration.[68]

For his part, the secretary of a French Canadian school district informed the Department of his refusal to accept printed material sent by the Red Cross because it bore the emblem of an association and, furthermore, the cross was a religious symbol whose presence was prohibited by the School Act. Departmental officials quickly assured the conscientious secretary that the legislation was not directed against the Red Cross.[69] When Anderson sent his picture to all schools in the province, Le Patriote did not let the event pass without voicing the appreciation of the French community:

> La place de cette photo est d'ailleurs toute indiquée. Elle remplacera le Christ, que par ces amendements à la Loi scolaire, M. Anderson met en dehors des écoles. Ceux qui s'objectent à la présence du divin crucifié, seront heureux de le voir si avantageusement remplacé par le majestueux profil de notre premier ministre....
>
> D'alleurs, il n'y a pas à nier que la vue de la photo du premier ministre, remplaçant le Christ sur les murs de nos écoles, sera une source continuelle d'inspiration pour les élèves.[70]

In the midst of the controversy surrounding the enforcement of the amendment prohibiting religious symbols and emblems in public schools, the attention of the province focused on the status of the French language in schools. The language question had never been entirely separate from the religious issue especially for French Catholics, and an attack on one inevitably would lead to censure of the other. In May, 1930, for example, F. W. Tasker of Kermaria School District complained to Anderson that the public school in his district was still being conducted according to French Catholic ideas of education which were of "no benefit to the children of Protestant ratepayers." He argued that it was time that the Premier gave English-speaking ratepayers "a fair deal." According to Tasker, this could only be done by placing English-speaking teachers in the schools and doing away with the teaching of French.[71] Anderson replied that the matter of French instruction would receive the consideration of the Legislature at its next session. He also reminded Tasker that everything could not be accomplished in a day and reassured him

> that children in our schools will be given an opportunity to learn the common language of the country and to be trained as Canadian and British citizens.[72]

In an address before the Saskatchewan Educational Association, Anderson stated that his department would no longer tolerate the payment of an extra sum to teachers of non-Anglo-Saxon extraction for teaching a foreign language in schools. If the members of a district wished to have foreign language instruction, they would have to pay the cost out of their own pockets and not tax the rest of the ratepayers. Furthermore, the Department would insist that teachers possess an adequate knowledge of English in order to adequately teach that language in schools.[73]

Earlier in the legislative session the Premier had announced that he would select two inspectors to conduct an impartial inquiry into conditions in French school districts. Accordingly, on May 20, 1930, he appointed C. E. Brown and J. A. Gagné, two members of the normal school staff. Their investigation was to commence as soon as possible after the normal school session ended in order that as many schools as possible be visited before they returned to their teaching duties in the fall.[74] They were authorized to visit any school in the province and make any investigation they deemed necessary. In addition, they could inspect the books and records of the school district, convoke meetings of trustees and special meetings of ratepayers.[75] Regular inspectors were asked to assist Brown and Gagné by preparing lists of schools in French-speaking districts. Inspectors were also requested to co-operate in every way "in order that these men may not only enjoy the work but be in a position to make a very comprehensive report to the Minister." [76] The news of this forthcoming investigation naturally alarmed the French community and E. Cadieux, a member of the A.C.F.C.'s executive, discussed the matter with Anderson. The Premier informed Cadieux that the inquiry had been instituted to satisfy the demands of the Klan and, if French Canadian schools were on a par with other schools, they would have nothing to fear. Anderson hinted that some of his colleagues had pressured him to do away with the one hour French course of study and that it was thanks to him that it had not been rescinded. Cadieux stated that Gagné himself felt certain that he would be able to conduct an unbiased investigation.[77] When members of the A.C.F.C. executive met with the Premier to discuss the language to be used for religious instruction, he promised them that he would place no restriction on the teaching of French.[78]

Despite the assurances of Anderson and Gagné, French Catholics still remained apprehensive. A.C.F.C. president Raymond Denis informed Armand Lavergne that the French community feared the inquiry that was being conducted. Denis argued that French Canadian children who spoke French at home and on the street could not be expected to have a knowledge of English equal to that of children who spoke only English. He believed that the real motive for the investigation was to provide the Premier with an opportunity to categorize French schools as inferior and thereby justify some measure which would restrict or suppress the teaching of French.[79]

The investigation began in June and was completed in August, 1930, and the report was presented to the Premier on January 15, 1931. In six of the schools visited, religious instruction was given in French during school hours and teachers were informed that this practice constituted a violation of the School Act. In all other schools where religious instruction was given, it was presented in French after regular school hours. The crucifix was being displayed in two public schools and this was brought to the attention of the Department. Brown and Gagné also noted that regulations concerning the flying of the flag were not being complied with in twenty-eight schools and were fully observed in forty-two others.[80]

Despite earlier assurances, the report could by no means be considered impartial or representative. Brown and Gagné visited only seventy of the 160 schools where French was being taught and, of the schools visited , about one-third were "almost exclusively rural." The inspectors reported that French was being used as a language of instruction for a period of one year in sixteen of the seventy schools visited, for less than one-half year in twelve schools, and not utilized as a language of instruction in thirty-five schools. Five schools had no grade one and data was not available for two other districts.[81] The investigators admitted that the information necessary for comparing French-speaking districts with non-French districts could not be obtained in the short time available to them. Furthermore, they admitted that a more detailed and expensive investigation was required before it could be possible to make "reliable comparisons" between the average standard of French Canadian schools and the average of other racial groups or the average of provincial schools. Nevertheless, Brown and Gagné reported that, on the basis of results obtained from standardized tests, French students possessed an inadequate knowledge of English due to the use of French as a language of instruction in grade one and the inadequate use of the direct method of teaching English in the lower grades. Despite the serious and obvious limitations of their study, they recommended that the primary course in the French language be abolished because it was an impediment to the acquisition of "an adequate knowledge of English."[82]

This recommendation could not but meet with the approval of all those who, in the past, had demanded the suppression of the primary course to facilitate and promote cultural conformity. In announcing the legislation would be introduced to abolish the use of French as a language of instruction, Anderson could not have selected a more receptive audience than the annual convention of the S.S.T.A., the organization whose resolutions of 1918 had brought the language question squarely to the fore. In addressing the delegates, Anderson stated that the primary course in French "was materially and psychologically out of order in a Canadian prairie province." Its abolition would bring about "a greater measure of unity and harmony in Saskatchewan." The Premier severely criticized school boards who conducted their proceedings in foreign languages, and he argued that there was "no reason whatsoever" why educational meetings should not be conducted in English. Anderson also attacked "certain factions" in the province who had proposed to organize school districts on a religious basis.[83] He announced that the government recognized only one trustees' association and that was the S.S.T.A. The Premier declared that this recognition would be given more tangible expression in the form of an amendment to the School Act permitting school districts to pay the expenses of delegates attending the Trustees' convention.[84] Since it was no longer necessary to petition against the continuation of French language instruction, the delegates responded with resolutions requesting the abolition of the dual school system and the removal of the provision pertaining to Catholic membership on the Educational Council. Another resolution sought to delete the one-half hour of religious instruction and replace it with the recitation of the Lord's Prayer at the opening of the school day.[85]

On February 27, 1931, less than two weeks after his declarations before the S.S.T.A., Anderson brought down legislation to repeal the use of French as a language of instruction in the first grade. Another amendment required that candidates for the office of trustee must be able to conduct school meetings in the English language. Making good his promise to grant official recognition only to the S.S.T.A., the Premier also introduced an amendment empowering school boards to pay the expenses of delegates who attended the Trustees' annual convention. Boards were prevented from declaring school holidays on a religious feast day by an amendment which stipulated that school holidays must be of a public nature.[86]

The government's decision to abolish the primary course caused a great deal of apprehension to federal Conservatives who had not yet recovered from the repercussions of the previous year's legislation dealing with religious garb and emblems. On March 5, 1931, the day the bill received second reading, A. W. Merriam, the Prime Minister's private secretary, telegraphed Attorney-General MacPherson to state that the legislation would make things very difficult for Bennett and probably result in the downfall of the federal Conservative administration. The legislation would divide the country, and Merriam feared that it would result in the immediate appointment of a French Canadian to fill the vacant senate seat in Saskatchewan.[87] The Attorney-General replied that the legislation affected "only a few schools in the province." Furthermore, it affected only the primary course and French could still be taught for one hour a day as a subject of study in all grades and as an optional subject in grade eight. He reminded Merriam that the government was composed of "various elements" and that it was being pressured. No Conservative in the province had protested against the bill and the French themselves "do not seem so opposed to change." On the other hand, the immediate appointment of a French speaking senator "would without doubt affect all concerned in this province."[88]

In the debate which followed second reading of the amendment to repeal the use of French as a language of instruction, Gardiner charged that the government was attempting to eradicate every language but English from the schools, a step which was contrary to the trends of the time. He claimed that such a trend would have been natural a quarter of a century ago but not at the present when "intensive nationalism" no longer existed.[89] The most impassioned plea on behalf of the French language was made by Dr. J. M. Uhrich, the man who had valiantly, but unsuccessfully defended the French language before the infamous Trustees' convention of 1918. He claimed that the amendment humiliated the French by forcing them to renounce their right to provide a minimum of French language instruction for their children. Furthermore, the legislation was a "gross injustice" to French Canadians and bilingualism was not a barrier to national unity. Uhrich stated that the French were not studying their language with a view to excluding English, and he maintained that the study of a second language was extremely valuable in aiding intellectual development.[90] Uhrich's opponent of 1918, J. F. Bryant, now Minister of Public Works, claimed that the bill was not humiliating because French was not an official language in Saskatchewan.[91] Anderson replied to Opposition criticism by asserting that the matter did not concern the value of languages but the principle of teaching French in the first grade. He claimed that there was nothing to prevent the teaching of French after school hours.[92] As in 1930, the speeches of Gardiner and Uhrich fell on deaf ears and, on March 9, the bill passed third reading by a vote of thirty-one to twenty. To the delight of nativists and patriots, the primary course in French had finally been suppressed.

As could be expected, the Daily Star was elated with Anderson's declarations before the S.S.T.A. convention and it described the proposal to abolish French as a language of instruction as "an educational advance." It claimed that children learning an extra language were handicapped in their education, and that the previous government was aware of this as a result of a "searching investigation" that had been conducted in French districts in 1917-19 but whose report had been suppressed. The journal concluded that the abolition of the primary course would free youngsters "from the burden of a language that is in no sense essential to their daily needs "and which retarded their general education."[93] Furthermore, Anderson's decision to free children from the burdens of bilingualism was "in line with modern psychological research." The editor cited studies conducted in India, America and Wales which demonstrated that the monolingual student was ahead of the bilingual student in his school work.[94]

Turning its attention to the speeches of Uhrich and Gardiner during debate on second reading, the Daily Star declared that the amendment had provided them with an "opportunity to raise the racial cry in an effort to stir up hatreds." It charged that the two former ministers had "wilfully misrepresented" a measure designed to benefit the children of the province. They attempted to make political capital out of the rectification of an evil they themselves had perpetrated. Gardiner and Uhrich should have placed principle before party and accepted the legislation as the "undoing of a political wrong" but instead they chose to retard the children in the competition of life."[95] The journal also enlightened its readers on the truth concerning bilingualism. It affirmed, for example, that the bilingual student was not twice as capable because his head was confused by differences in syntax. The physiological explanation, according to the editor, was that unlike the separate hemispheres of the brain to direct the two sides of the body, there was only one speech center in the brain. Naturally, it seemed "to function best under the load of one language." Gardiner and Uhrich should have passed these fruits of modern learning to people in French districts but instead they spoke like "a couple of cheap demagogues endeavoring to incite hate and prejudice among the French people, to whom they might have been apostles of light."[96]

As in the case of the amendment prohibiting religious garb and emblems in public schools, the French minority was again powerless to prevent the passage of the legislation. The A.C.F.C. and A.C.E.F.C. were apparently bidding for time because they were not certain of what support they could obtain from other Catholic trustees on the language issue. Informing J. Hogan, Liberal M.L.A. for Vonda, of French opposition to the legislation, Denis stated that it would be in the best interests of the French community if the legislative session could be prolonged. He added that legislation permitting boards to pay the expenses of delegates to the S.S.T.A. convention was "a direct violation of the rights of free citizens" and was reminiscent of totalitarian Russia.[97] Denis made a similar request to Uhrich, adding that it would be important not to have the amendments come into force before the first of July, thereby giving Catholic trustees time to hold their convention and take "necessary measures."[98]

On March 4, 1931, five days before the bill received third reading, a five-member delegation representing the A.C.E.F.C. and the C.S.T.A. met with the Premier to discuss matters concerning Catholic trustees and the recent amendments to the School Act. The delegates complained that, in spite of the fact that sisters were complying with the legislation prohibiting religious garb and emblems, the Department still was not satisfied and was threatening to appoint official trustees in districts where contention existed. Anderson assured them that no such threats were being made and that he was satisfied that every school was now complying with the legislation.[99] On the question of school holidays, the deputation stated that there were only four Catholic holidays in a school year and that this number did not appear sufficient to warrant an amendment. Anderson stated that the amendment was to apply primarily to the Slavs who had a great number of religious holidays. It was pointed out to the Premier that in Gravelbourg where only thirty-five of the 400 pupils were non-Catholic, it would be "ludicrous" to keep the school open for this small number. Anderson agreed and stated that it would be a matter of the loss of the school grant for one day. He added that if Catholics had only four religious holidays, the legislation would have very little effect on them. The government felt, however, that for the good of the pupils, the amendment should be passed.[100] A German Catholic trustee stated that the legislation affecting the qualifications of trustees would work hardships in his locality where it would be difficult to find trustees who could conduct meetings in English. Anderson asked how long these people had been living in the area and, upon being told that they had been there since 1910, he stated that this did not speak well of the educational system of the province. He added that the government would not compromise on this matter and that the legislation must stand for the good of the citizens.[101]

Concerning the legislation to officially recognize only the S.S.T.A., the Premier expressed the wish that all trustees should meet in one association and discuss educational matters in common instead of dividing on racial and religious lines. The delegates pointed out that there was nothing clandestine about their conventions, that copies of their resolutions were forwarded to the Department and that the press and departmental representatives were always invited. The Catholic trustees admitted that it would be ideal to have only one association but that this was not practical. Had Catholics been present at the Trustees' convention in Moose Jaw, for example, they would have been opposed to certain resolutions and this would have led to a repetition of the events of 1918. The Premier suggested that a committee should meet with officials of the S.S.T.A. in an effort to reach an understanding, but the deputation pointed out that this would not promote unity. Anderson then informed the delegates that he would withdraw the amendment and he felt confident that the members of the government would concur.[102] He also stated that he had no intention of acceding to the request of the S.S.T.A. that Catholic representation on the Educational Council be suppressed.[103]

When the discussion turned to French language instruction, however, the Premier "promptly told" those present that on this issue, the government's position was irrevocable. Citing the Brown-Gagné Report, he argued that in schools where French was taught, pupils spent three years in two grades, and, consequently, the Department recommended that French be discontinued as a language of instruction. He replied to charges that the survey had not been complete or representative by affirming that its findings compared favorably to the results of standard tests administered in other schools.[104] For its part, the A.C.F.C. asked French teachers to disregard the legislation and to continue to use French as a language of instruction in the first grade:

> Cela ce fait au Manitoba depuis de nombreuses années; c'est d'ailleurs la seule attitude à tenir pour nous, car il ne saurait être question sous aucun prétexte d'abandonner cette première année de français.[105]

Faced with the loss of school grants for failure to comply with the legislation, and given the vigilance of inspectors and the difficult times, it is very doubtful whether any school districts heeded this directive.

The fact that the A.C.F.C. had been unable to impede the passage of the bill or to countermand it did not prevent the association from attempting to bring pressure to bear on Anderson. In addition to censuring the government in Le Patriote, the A.C.F.C. also sent communiqués to the French press in eastern Canada informing it in no uncertain terms of the situation in Saskatchewan. In a communiqué dated February 26, 1931, the association stated that Gagné, the only French Canadian inspector in the province, had been appointed to give an air of impartiality to the investigation. Furthermore, the inspectors had limited their visits to the worst French school districts and had not gone to the town and village schools. Yet, on the basis of such an incomplete survey, the government decided to abolish French as a language of instruction.[106] In another dispatch, Denis argued that the rights of parents in education were superior to those of the state, and when the state infringed upon these rights, it invited parents to ignore restrictive legislation. French Canadians in Saskatchewan had made every conceivable concession compatible with their dignity but the limits of their patience had been reached. They were turning to their school trustees to maintain the status quo. For its part, Ottawa's Le Droit commented that the government had violated the constitution and placed itself in the realm of illegality and injustice. French Canadians owed it to themselves and to their country to disregard the injunctions of the administration:

> Malgré M. Anderson et les ministres, nos compatriotes continueront de garder à leurs écoles l'aspect bilingue qui les caractérise, de conserver leur culture et leurs traditions. Et ainsi ils resteront fidèles à leur histoire, à la patrie canadienne.[107]

As could be expected, numerous French Canadian organizations expressed their solidarity with Saskatchewan's French minority.[108] For its part, l'Union St-Joseph du Canada sought Bennett's intercession to deter Anderson from suppressing French language instruction.[109] The acting Prime Minister, Sir George Perley, informed the association that the matter was one of provincial jurisdiction and, consequently, he had forwarded their petition to Premier Anderson asking that he give it his "serious attention."[110] One of the most influential organizations in Quebec, l'Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Canadienne (A.C.J.C.), informed Bennett that Anderson's actions would cause a regretable malaise and heighten racial antipathies. The A.C.J.C. believed that Bennett's intervention could bring about a pacification that would be advantageous to the two races and to the reputation of the Conservative party.[111] The Prime Minister drew Anderson's attention to the protest and advised the association that he feared the Premier's reply would take the form of a reminder of the constitutional distribution of powers.[112]

J. Dansereau, the A.C.J.C.'s president sent a copy of the letter to other prominent Conservatives among them C. H. Cahan and R. L. Borden. Borden replied that he did not possess any such influence over the Prime Minister as the A.C.J.C. imagined but that he would use any such influence as he might have to assist in promoting "good relations" and effecting a "happy solution." Borden reminded Dansereau that neither Bennett nor any of his ministers "could properly attempt anything bordering on dictation or interference in matters that constitutionally appertain to each province of Canada."[113] For his part, Cahan strongly doubted that relations between Bennett and Anderson were such that the Prime Minister's intercession could bring about satisfactory results. While he personally disapproved of the legislation, Cahan stated that the Premier of Saskatchewan was doing what French Canadian Members of Parliament, with the exception of seven, had authorized him to in 1905. Cahan then pointed to the paradoxical nature of the present situation:

> Il est donc difficile dans les circonstances, pour les déptués de langue anglaise et religion protestante, d'intervenir en essayant d'annuler l'oeuvre du feu Wilfrid Laurier et de ses collègues canadiens-français.[114]

It was obvious that federal members of both major parties were anxious to use Saskatchewan's school legislation to embarrass political opponents. In the Debate on the Address, F. W. Turnbull (Conservative-Regina), declared that in western Canada, the Liberals fought elections with "the most bitter appeals to sectionalism." He added that the Liberals frightened the foreign-born by telling them that if a Conservative government were elected, their churches would be burned down, their schools closed, and their homesteads revoked.[115] Replying to Turnbull's remarks, G. W. McPhee (Liberal-Yorkton), read a report of a meeting of the Sir Sam

Hughes Orange Lodge in Regina where the past Grand Master had denounced the issuing of a bilingual postage stamp. Turning to Turnbull and W. D. Cowan, who were present at the head table, the speaker asked them to fight against this bilingual policy and "stand true to the principles for which we believe they have been standing."[116] On the other hand, W. D. Cowan (Conservative-Long Lake), argued that Liberal members from Saskatchewan had misled the people with false statements, but that the seven Conservative members from that province would set the record straight; they were going to concentrate on the authors of that vicious propaganda "until the enemy is licked."[117] J. F. Pouliot, (Liberal-Témiscouata) expressed surprise that Cowan, a Klan official, did not wear his "nightshirt" when he addressed the House. Pouliot asserted that it was the Conservatives, with the support of the Klan, who had resorted to vituperative sectional appeals at election time.[118]

For his part, the Deputy Speaker, A. Lavergne, indicated a desire to go beyond appeals to race and religion and get to the bottom of the affair. He declared that it was the fault of the Liberals that Anderson had been able to enact his amendments. Lavergne recalled that in 1896 the Conservative government had gone down to defeat in an attempt to protect the rights of Catholics in Manitoba. He argued, furthermore, that in 1905 he and Bourassa were the only Liberals in the House who had stood up for the rights of the minority in the Territories.[119] It was the Solicitor-General, M. Dupré, who brought matters to a head when, in his maiden speech, he castigated the attitude adopted by Anderson's government. He went on to declare that the suppression of French language instruction "was an insult to the true Canadians established here for fourteen or fifteen generations." In concluding his remarks, Dupré expressed the hope that the discriminatory legislation would be repealed.[120] C. B. Howard (Liberal-Sherbrooke), claimed that, while he was an English Protestant Canadian, his sentiments were, nevertheless, identical to Dupré's. He argued that if the Solicitor-General were sincere, it was within his power to have the legislation repealed. Howard added that one of the reasons why the Conservatives were in power federally was as a result of the assistance they received from the man who suppressed French language instruction in Saskatchewan schools.[121] Following Dupré's remarks, O. L. Boulanger (Liberal-Bellechasse), asked whether it was the government's intention to annul the Saskatchewan legislation either by disallowance or the enactment of remedial legislation. The Prime Minister replied, inaccurately, that disallowance had been in abeyance for half a century and referred Boulanger to history where he could ascertain "what is the correct course to be followed in a case such as he had suggested."[122] During the question period Boulanger asked the Solicitor-General whether he was speaking in the name of the government when he had expressed the hope that the Saskatchewan legislation would be abrogated. Dupré replied that his speech spoke for itself.[123]

While appeals to politicians failed to bring about redress, Montreal's Société St-Jean-Baptiste provided tangible assistance in the form of a public subscription for Saskatchewan's aggrieved minority.[124] To promote this subscription, Denis wrote numerous articles and made two speaking tours of eastern Canada in 1931. Father Tavernier, O.M.I., editor of Le Patriote, also presented a series of conferences to raise money for that newspaper. The Daily Star took exception to Denis' articles and claimed that they were written for "consumption in Quebec." It described Denis as a "mischief maker" and a "breeder of ill-will."[125]

The journal declared that as a result of this "untruthful campaign" Quebec's numerous ignorant readers viewed Anderson as fire-bug and anti-Christ."[126] An editorial in Le Patriote was translated and quoted as proof that when a public school came under the control of French Canadian trustees, it became a French school and the minority had no rights.[127] The Daily Star asserted that the "revelation" that the anti-Saskatchewan propaganda was part of a subscription in favor of a journal that was in financial difficulties "should be an eye opener to the simple souls in Quebec who have been victims of the campaign."[128] To the editor, the press reports of Denis' expedition made it clear that he had gone to the east to misrepresent the persecution of Catholics in Saskatchewan and, in so doing, he had accepted the "comic opera role of Le Chef de la Resistance." The editor left it up to the people of Saskatchewan to decide whether Denis was a "dangerous firebrand" and whether he was not obtaining money by "false pretences."[129]

The Daily Star also took exception to an address by Lavergne before the Hull and Ottawa chapters of the Native Sons of Canada. He had affirmed that Canada was a bilingual country and that men like Anderson, far from serving Canada by restricting the French language, were "betraying the spirit of the forefathers of Canadians." He also declared that he accepted a bargain for what it was, and that he was not like Saskatchewan's premier who regarded a bargain as a scrap of paper. Lavergne predicted that the French language would endure forever despite the actions of individuals like Anderson.[130] In an editorial entitled "A Dis-service to Goodwill," the journal claimed that Lavergne was attempting to advance his political fortunes by misrepresenting the Saskatchewan school situation. It was reprehensible that the Liberal press in Saskatchewan, which had a responsibility to tell the truth to the "fair-minded" people of the province should distort matter for partisan purposes. According to the editor, Lavergne might get some useful publicity in Quebec as a result of his address, but it would be obtained at the expense of "amity and goodwill, not to mention truth."[131]

While the accusations of the Daily Star surprised no one, those of Mgr. Marois, the staunch adversary of the A.C.E.F.C.-C.S.T.A. coalition, astonished French Canadians and delighted nativists to no end. Marois, who was then curé of Ste-Foy, Quebec, declared publicly that ninety percent of what had been said or written about the school question in Saskatchewan was "exaggerated or false." He claimed, furthermore, that Denis had made "strange declarations" on his recent trip to Quebec.[132] For his part, Father M. Mourey of Viscount could not believe that a Roman prelate could defend the persecution of Catholics in a church in Quebec.[133] Denis feared that Marois' remarks would have a disastrous effect on the subscription if they had been publicized as extensively in eastern Canada as they had been in the West.[134] Quick to render praise where praise was due, the Daily Star reproduced Marois' statements and claimed that he had performed a "valued service for truth and amity" by his "courageous and timely denunciation" of "platform agitators" who had been deluding the simple-minded people of Quebec with stories of French Catholic persecution. The people of Saskatchewan should be grateful that these denials had been made by one whose position and knowledge enabled him to speak with authority. According to the Daily Star,

> It would serve the detractors of Saskatchewan justly, if those they have hoodwinked in Quebec into making contributions to an alleged fighting fund, were to demand their money back.[135]

While the Daily Star was occupied with more important matters, some school inspectors gave proof of a determination to suppress bilingualism that would have made the redoubtable journal envious. Inspector F. P. Henwood advised the Deputy Minister that the Federal government had distributed a bilingual poster in his inspectorate. Henwood claimed that there were objections to the poster because of its French origin and title. Furthermore, he argued that it would be an unfriendly act to accentuate the bilingual question in schools by displaying such posters.[136] The Deputy Minister in turn forwarded the poster to A. R. Brown, the Director of Rural Education, who brought it to Anderson's attention. According to Brown, if there were any objections to a bilingual poster, the matter should be dealt with by the Minister and not be departmental officials.[137] Without too much hesitation, Anderson replied that bilingual posters should not be displayed in Saskatchewan schools. His solution was to remove the offensive bilingual portion and he set the example by cutting off the following captions from the bottom of the poster:

> Published by direction of the Hon. W. R. Motherwell, Minister of Agriculture, Ottawa, 1929. Publié par ordre de l'Hon. W. R. Motherwell, Ministre de l'Agriculture, Ottawa, 1929.
>
> Dairy Branch, Department of Agriculture. Division de l'Industrie Laitière, Ministère de l'Agriculture, Ottawa, Canada.
>
> Dairy Products Poster No. 2. Tableau No. 2, Produits Laitiers.[138]

The Chief Inspector of Schools accordingly informed inspectors that bilingual posters should not be displayed in Saskatchewan schools, and he suggested that they be taken down or that the bilingual portion be removed by following the methods adopted by the Premier.[139]

School inspectors traditionally had been very zealous and demanding in their inspection of non-English school districts and the climate of opinion engendered during the Anderson regime tended to increase their vigilance. In addition to noting the presence of religious emblems, inspectors did not hesitate to inform school boards that religious instruction during school hours had to be presented in English.[140] Some inspectors began to insist that English must be the language used on school playgrounds.[141] The Deputy Minister, while admitting that the School Act did not definitely stipulate that children must speak English on the playground, nevertheless, felt that the conduct of a teacher who did not encourage her pupils to communicate in English wherever possible, could not "be considered satisfactory to the Department of Education."[142] Inspectors were equally emphatic in voicing their disapproval of the teaching of foreign languages after school hours. Inspector M. A. Tripp of the Yorkton inspectorate advised an Ukrainian school board that the ultimate aim of education was to produce good Canadian citizens. If the teaching of a foreign language impeded this purpose, it should not be tolerated. He appealed to the board to co-operate in fostering racial assimilation by teaching a common language thereby enabling everyone to work together in the best interests of the pupils.[143] This attitude met with the approval of the Assistant Deputy Minister who informed the Balmoral School District that the Department would not sanction the teaching of Russian after school hours. Furthermore, a knowledge of Russian was not essential and it was unfair to children who had completed a school day to remain after hours to study a foreign language. After being informed of this communication, Anderson advised the Deputy Minister that this was "going too far" and that the Department could not "be expected to dictate what happens after school hours or in the evening."[144] After this ministerial admonition, boards who wrote to ask whether the teaching of foreign languages after school hours was illegal were advised that it was not, but that the Department did not look favorably upon this practice "because it might affect the progress of the children in their regular school work."[145]

In the midst of the acrimonious polemic surrounding the School Act amendments of 1930-31, Prime Minister Bennett had to make an appointment to the Senate from Saskatchewan as a result of the death of Senator Turriff of Assiniboia. Consideration as to the candidate's race and religion, important factors under normal circumstances, were to assume critical proportions in this appointment.[146] Anderson advised Bennett that if he were considering a Catholic for the position, there was only one, Joseph Foley of North Battleford, who was entitled to consideration. The Premier stated that Foley had fallen from grace in 1929 over the school question, but that he had returned to the fold "and we all have confidence in him."[147] H. G. Sheldrake, a Protestant Conservative from North Battleford, claimed that, given the political situation in Saskatchewan, and the fact that French Canadians had voted Liberal in the last federal election, the appointment of a French Catholic senator would not be popular. The appointment of an Irish Catholic senator, however, would "be accepted without cavil" and Sheldrake also put forth Foley's name.[148]

French Canadians in Saskatchewan, on the other hand, were bound and determined that they would not be cheated out of what they considered to be their rights as they allegedly had been in 1921 when J. A. Calder had been appointed to succeed Benjamin Prince, a French Canadian. Denis wrote W. F. Hargarten, president of the German and English sections of the C.S.T.A., and Mike Bilinski, president of the Ukrainian section, to solicit their support for the French Canadian candidate, A. Marcotte of Ponteix. Denis stated that Catholics in the province had no representation in the Senate and that they were entitled to it. He also argued that convention provided for the representation of the French minority in the upper house.[149] On the same day, Denis wrote Bennett to state that Saskatchewan was the only western province without a French Canadian senator. The appointment of a French Catholic would be an act of justice, and it would demonstrate that the Federal government was not hostile to the French. According to Denis, the nomination of a French-speaking senator would be facilitated by the fact that Marcotte had the support of all Catholics in the province. Furthermore, Marcotte had campaigned as a Conservative in Saskatchewan at a time when courage needed to declare oneself a member of that party.[150]

As could be expected, there was strong opposition to a Catholic nomination from Conservatives in Saskatchewan when it became apparent that Bennett favored minority representation. Nineteen government M.L.A.'s sent a telegram to the Prime Minister protesting against the appointment of a Catholic because of the attitude allegedly adopted by the Catholic Church in Saskatchewan elections.[151] For his part, MacPherson believed that objection to a Catholic nomination was so general and insistent that it could not be ignored.[152] The Attorney-General also feared that the announcement of a Catholic appointment before the prorogation of the Legislature "would be ruinous" but he was informed that Bennett had not changed his views on minority representation.[153] The Prime Minister himself informed Anderson of his conviction that Catholics had a right to one senate seat. Furthermore, with the exception of British Columbia, Saskatchewan was the only province without a Catholic member.[154] Anderson replied that it would be a "serious political mistake" to appoint a representative of the minority. No one objected to the principle, but "each and everyone" insisted that minority recognition should come in subsequent appointments. For his part, the Premier believed that the future senator should be a farmer.[155] From Edmonton, Archbishop H. J. O'Leary complained to the Prime Minister that an attempt was being made to have racialism prevail in the forthcoming appointment. O'Leary claimed that this was "entirely unfair and unjust" especially when men like Foley and Leddy were available as candidates.[156]

In the meantime, the French community continued its campaign to have Marcotte appointed to the Senate. Denis wrote to the editors of leading French language papers in eastern Canada stating that Anderson wished to divide Catholics in Saskatchewan by allegedly supporting a German Catholic candidate. Denis urged the editors to comment on the nomination and to convince Bennett that French Canadians across the country were interested in the Saskatchewan appointment.[157] Denis also wrote A.C.F.C. locals urging them to petition Bennett and Postmaster General Sauvé for Marcotte's nomination.[158] The Prime Minister replied that the representations would receive serious consideration, but he indicated that all senators from Saskatchewan were from an area south of the C. P. R. main line and that the north had an equal right to representation.[159] Denis expressed surprise that Bennett attached so much importance to the geographical location of the senators' residences, and he countered by stating that Marcotte's candidacy had been supported by both sections of the province. Furthermore, if the raison d'être of the

Senate was to protect minorities, French Canadians had an even stronger claim on the appointment.[160]

Archbishop McGuigan of Regina, on the other hand, recommended Leddy as the most representative candidate and stated that his appointment would be approved by the majority of Catholics in Saskatchewan.[161] Bishop Prud'homme informed the Prime Minister that Foley was not acceptable as the Catholic representative in the Senate. If Marcotte could not be considered because he resided in the southern part of the province, Prud'homme was prepared to support Leddy.[162] Father Athol Murray of Wilcox, who was not renowned for his sympathy with the French Catholic cause, also supported Leddy's candidacy but he advised Bennett to postpone the nomination until such time as the situation in Saskatchewan had changed. In the meantime, the Prime Minister should appoint a person "whose selection would be hailed by the whole province as a most deserving recognition of service."[163] For his part, Denis feared that Leddy's appointment would not only destroy any future chances Marcotte might have but also those of any other French-speaking aspirant. Denis was not convinced of Leddy's sincerity for the Catholic cause, and he preferred that the nomination go to another person in order not to compromise the French at a later date.[164] Despite the recommendations of influential individuals however, Leddy could not obtain the support of any senator or member from Saskatchewan. Advising Leddy that his candidacy could not be considered, Bennett stated that, as party leader, he could not "defy the unanimous opinion of his party."[165]

After receiving information from Ottawa that Leddy's candidacy would not be considered, Denis urged Hargarten and Bilinski to once again petition Bennett on Marcotte's behalf. Denis argued that the Premier was opposed to the French Catholic candidate and that it "would be a slap for Anderson if we could obtain this nomination."[166] On behalf of German and Ukrainian Catholic school trustees, Hargarten and Bilinski reaffirmed their support for Marcotte's candidacy.[167] Bilinski added that Irish Catholics were represented in the Legislative Assembly and the Educational Council. The French were not represented in either provincial body, and it would only "be fair and just" that they be granted representation in the Senate.[168] Bennett himself is alleged to have remarked that Anderson's actions were going to force him to appoint Marcotte to consolidate the position of the Conservative party in Quebec.[169]

There were others, however, who believed that the appointment of a Catholic, let alone a French-speaking Catholic, would be a serious blunder. K. S. Wilson, a Humboldt barrister informed Bennett that the appointment of a Catholic to the Senate would be detrimental to the welfare of the Conservative cause in Saskatchewan. He argued that in the northern part of the province it would alienate fifty percent of the Conservative supporters "and make practically all the remainder lukewarm." There were many Protestants in the province who were worthy of the position and, should it go to a Catholic, Wilson warned that "many of them will regard it as a personal affront."[170] On behalf of the Saskatoon local of the Invisible Empire of the Ladies of the K.K.K., Mrs. V. E. Warren registered a protest against the appointment of a Catholic senator. She advised the Prime Minister that Sir F. W. G. Haultain should be selected because he had "served well in the interests of Canada as a whole and this province in particular."[171] For his part, Canon Cross informed Anderson that Bishop Lloyd would soon retire and that the offer of a senatorship would be a fitting recognition for his "distinguished services." Cross asserted that such a gesture would be welcomed by Anglicans, Orangemen, Masons and those who "love and support British traditions."[172] The request was forwarded to Bennett who replied that it was impossible to appoint a retired bishop to the Senate and that the vacant senatorship in Saskatchewan belonged "as a right, to the Catholic minority."[173]

Given the Prime Minister's conviction, the elimination of Foley and Leddy as candidates, the restrictive legislation passed by Anderson, and the pressure brought to bear by French-speaking Canada, it was not surprising that Marcotte finally received his appointment in July, 1931. Replying to a letter from Bishop Prud'homme thanking him for his judicious choice, Bennett stated:

> I trust the appointment of Mr. Marcotte may contribute to the maintenance of better understanding between the men and women of the various creeds and races in the Province of Saskatchewan.[174]

On the other hand, W. P. Hall of Calgary informed the Prime Minister that he ought to resign at once for having selected a French Roman Catholic senator to represent an English-speaking province. Such a step was a continuation of the policy of Laurier and Mackenzie King who assisted the Catholic Church in making Canada a Catholic country.[175] In voicing the "keen disappointment and disapproval" of the Saskatchewan Klan, J. W. Rossborough viewed Marcotte's nomination as "instigation and interference from another province" and a reproof to Anderson for his educational reforms.[176] Reverend Andrew Walker, Grand Master of the Orange Lodge of Saskatchewan, reminded the Prime Minister that the majority of Orangemen had voted for the Conservative party because the Liberals were being dominated by Quebec and because they felt that the

Conservatives would not countenance the granting of special privileges to any section of the population. The order had previously voiced its opposition to Marcotte and Walker warned that "the future will reveal the consequences as far as Saskatchewan is concerned."[177] R. J. Gibson, the Lodge's past Grand Master and a member of the executive of the Saskatchewan Conservative Association declared that the wishes of the people of Saskatchewan, as demonstrated in the last provincial election, were of little importance when compared to the desires of the Quebec hierarchy. Marcotte's appointment was proof that the great Conservative party was being controlled by the same ultramontance influence that dominated the Liberals under Laurier and Mackenzie King.[178] For its part, the Daily Star hinted that the sinister hand of Quebec was behind the appointment of a French Catholic senator in Saskatchewan.[179]

Despite these statements, it was apparent that the nativist tide had begun to ebb following the suppression of French language instruction. The influence of the Ku Klux Klan, the most overt manifestation of nativist discontent in Saskatchewan, declined after the election of 1929 as the attention of the province came to focus on the more immediate issue of survival in the midst of a severe recession. Nativism itself also had lost much of its appeal as a result of the Co-operative Government's legislative record. The School Act amendments and the regulations issued by the Department of Education had eliminated the most controversial issues within the school system. Once the nuns had modified their garb so that it was no longer regarded as a distinctive religious costume, there were no serious encounters between French Canadian districts and inspectors. The French community reluctantly accepted the suppression of French language instruction, and this amendment produced fewer confrontations than the one secularizing public schools. After Marcotte's appointment in July, 1931, the machinations of Quebec politicians and Catholic priests no longer captured the interest of the formidable Daily Star. The anti-French, anti-Catholic declarations which had characterized its editorial policy gradually disappeared from its pages. The newspaper ceased publication on February 3, 1940, when its assets were acquired by the Leader-Post.

This change in interest and attitudes was evident in the 1934 provincial election. The contest was a very tranquil one when compared to the vitriolic outbursts of patriots and nativists in 1929. Early in 1934, the Daily Star declared that the administration would stand on its record of achievements which had earned the gratitude of the majority of the electorate. The journal went on to predict that Anderson and his colleagues could "face the election in the fullest confidence."[180] In a two-hour speech in Nokomis, Bryant discussed the government's accomplishments, and declared that there was "unmistakable evidence" that the administration would be returned with an increased majority.[181] According to the Leader-Post, the real issue was which of the three parties could provide the best kind of government. After examining the situation, the editor was convinced that the Liberals could offer more than the present ministry or the "untried policies" of the C.C.F.[182]

On June 19, 1934, Saskatchewan voters went to the polls and returned forty-nine Liberals and five C.C.F. members. Not one member of the Co-operative Government was returned. The Daily Star could only explain the wholesale loss of seats in economic terms, and it stated that the Anderson government had been blamed for all the discontent and dissatisfaction generated by hard times. According to the editor, the worst consequence of the verdict was that the Liberals had no opposition and the new Legislative Assembly would become "a mutual admiration society." The Assembly would be a house of puppets whose strings would be manipulated by Gardiner.[183] The Leader-Post, on the other hand, interpreted the results as an indication that the people were through with the Anderson forces and that they had been decimated "without respect to their personal worth." According to the Leader-Post, those who had raised a "bogus racial and religious issue" in 1929 in order to obtain votes "have been shown that such a course is to play with fire and that the final consequences are inevitable."[184] The journal also commented that the campaign had been "a relatively clean one."[185]

Anderson informed Bennett that the results had come as a surprise to the party. He claimed, furthermore, that the C.C.F. had been the chief factor in the government's defeat and that the Catholic Church had come out "solidly" against the administration.[186] As in the past, it was the paranoiac Bryant who elaborated on the theme of a Catholic conspiracy. Bryant informed the Prime Minister that Conservatives had made the "fatal mistake" of believing that Catholics would support them. Furthermore, the Liberals used unscrupulous tactics and, as in the past, were guilty of every electoral iniquity. He claimed, for example, that the Liberals distributed literature in Catholic churches on Mothers' Day claiming that mothers' allowances and maternity benefits had been reduced by the Anderson government.[187] Bryant also revealed that the parish priest in St. Peter's Colony had spoken out against the administration on three different Sundays. In Bryant's own constituency a Catholic priest accompanied the Liberal candidate in Regina Beach and spoke out against him. Bryant allegedly complained against these practices to the Archbishop, and he later received a letter from the priest in question advising him that in 1931 the Archbishop had declared that he would have nothing to do with the administration. Bryant claimed that he had been defeated because redistribution had cut off a large section of Conservative voters and added three townships populated mainly by Germans and Catholics. His opponent was of German origin and naturally received all the non-English votes.[188] The president of the Saskatchewan Conservative Association sent a questionnaire to all Conservative and Independent candidates asking for their opinions on the Conservative slump. Twenty-three candidates responded and of these, ten listed the influence of the Catholic Church as a cause of the party's defeat.[189]

For his part, F. Channon of Claytonville advised the Prime Minister that in the recent provincial election, the considerable Ukrainian population in his district voted Liberal. British-born residents objected that, at political rallies, the addresses were presented in Ukrainian and English-speaking voters were "totally in the dark." Channon declared that there should be a law prohibiting these speakers from using the Ukrainian language because they were "job-hunters" who might be telling falsehoods and there was no one to verify the accuracy of their statements.[190] F. W. Turnbull, on the other hand, suggested that Conservatives could establish better relations with Scandinavian and German Protestant groups if they could get a German Lutheran from Waterloo or Guelph to come west and organize a Lutheran association similar in structure to that of the Knights of Columbus. He informed Bennett that, under proper auspices, the Germans and Scandinavians "could develop a Protestant campaign, which though not part of us, might be very useful to us."[191] A. J. Wickens, a barrister from Moose Jaw, was more realistic when he approached Bennett to discuss the reorganization and revivification of the party after its catastrophic defeat in Saskatchewan. He contended that in the 1934 election, Conservatives had allowed the success of 1929 to go to their heads. Furthermore, the scheme to have Conservatives run as Independents on the theory that this would win votes had not received the support of the entire party and had proved to be a dismal failure.[192]

Prior to the election, Marcotte had been asked to come to Saskatchewan and assist the party. He wired Attorney-General MacPherson that it was impossible for him to campaign on behalf of the administration. Marcotte reminded MacPherson that during the anti-French, anti-Catholic campaign of 1929 he deemed it advisable to leave the province until it ended. The Senator did not quarrel with the legislation affecting religious garb and emblems but he took strong exception to the suppression of French language instruction which he regarded as unjustified.[193] He also advised the Prime Minister that caucus reports alleging that French Canadians in Gravelbourg constituency had not shown their gratitude for the appointment of a French Catholic senator were "unfair and unwarranted." Marcotte claimed that the Conservative candidate had received a large portion of the French vote but that redistribution had accentuated the solid Liberal vote thereby making it impossible to elect any Conservative.[194] He declared that his compatriots were not ungrateful and that Anderson had reaped what he had sown. In expressing his devotion to Bennett and his desire to continue working for the Conservative party, Senator Marcotte stated:

> but you could not ask me to debase myself, not only in the eyes of my people but in my own conscience, in supporting men who have been without justification, bitter enemies of our religion and race.[195]

The Prime Minister was surprised after reading Marcotte's communication. Stating that he now realized what a great strain the appointment had made on the party, Bennett declared that Marcotte, nevertheless, should have gone to Saskatchewan and campaigned, demonstrating to Conservatives that he appreciated his appointment and that he desired to associate himself with them "in their hour of difficulty and defeat."[196] Marcotte's information had been "so astounding" that the Prime Minister felt bound to make "very careful inquiries regarding the whole situation."[197]

Shortly before turning over the reins of government to Gardiner, Anderson wrote Bennett in the hope of securing a federal appointment. Anderson stated that he had given the ten best years of his life to Saskatchewan and that he now realized that public gratitude was "exceedingly limited."[198] The Prime Minister replied that party members had become disenchanted with the coalition government. Furthermore, there was a widespread belief that the Conservatives would coalesce with the Independents and the C.C.F. Bennett stated that many people had found that proposal very obnoxious. The suggestion of a cabinet minister that those who would not support the administration should vote for the C.C.F. was far from encouraging. These circumstances made it impossible for the federal party to associate itself actively with those who comprised the Co-operative Government. In addition, Bennett stated that civil service regulations precluded the possibility of finding employment for men of Anderson's talent in the public service.[199]

The defeat of the Anderson government in 1934 marked the end of the most trying era ever faced by Saskatchewan's French-speaking minority. The short period 1929-31 was one in which the ethnic identity of French Canadians was most severely threatened by the nativist crusade for cultural conformity. Beginning in 1929, the minor concessions which the French community had obtained in the past were repudiated by an administration pledged to remove sectarian influences from public schools: their traditional source of recruitment for bilingual teachers was severed with the suppression of exchanges of teaching certificates with Quebec; their cherished religion could no longer be taught in the maternal language during regular school hours; the prohibition of religious garb and emblems in public schools threatened the services of their most dedicated and devoted teachers; the abolition of French as a language of instruction eliminated a vital barrier against assimilation. Despite these reverses, the French community stood firm in its determination to derive the best possible advantage from the little that remained.

The demise of the Anderson administration offered hope but French Canadians would soon realize that it did not presage an immediate return to better days. The racial-religious controversy no longer generated the same enthusiasm as it had in 1929, but the zealous element within the nativist host was determined to maintain its vigilance against encroachments by Rome andQuebec and to denounce any transgressions with its customary vigor. The Liberals, on the other hand, had not forgotten that the school question had been an important factor which had contributed to their defeat in 1929. Returning to power after five years in opposition, they were not about to provoke a resurgence of the polemic by rescinding legislation that had been requested for many years and which met with the approval of a large segment of the population. English Protestant attitudes had not been altered by the electoral verdict and the Liberals would not be as sympathetic with the cultural aspirations of French Canadians as they had been in the past. The Anderson ministry had been repudiated in 1934 but it would take more than three decades to bring about a distinctive change in the philosophy which had characterized its educational policy vis-à-vis foreign language instruction, French Catholic minorities and their schools.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Education, St. Raymond S. D. No. 4772, Minister of Education to Cummings, March 17, 1930.

[2] *Ibid.*, Val Marie S. D. No. 4636, Anderson: Memorandum for Dr. McKechnie, Sept. 15, 1930.

[3] *Daily Star*, April 19, 1930.

[4] *Ibid.*, June 30, 1930.

[5] *Ibid.*, July 7, 1930.

[6] *Ibid.*, Oct. 16, 1930.

[7] *Sentinel*, July 17, 1930.

[8] *Ibid.*, July 30, 1930.

[9] *Report of the Royal Commission to Inquire into Statements Made in Statutory Declarations and Other Matters*, 1930, p. 13. The Royal Commission was responsible for investigating allegations made by the Minister of Public Works, J. F. Bryant, that, under the previous government, there had been irregularities in the enforcement of provincial liquor legislation, the administration of jails and the Weyburn Mental Hospital, and the administration of justice in the province.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

[11] *Daily Star*, Nov. 12, 1930.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Leader-Post*, Oct. 13, 1930.

[14] *Ibid.*, Oct. 14, 1930.

[15] *Report of the Royal Commission to Inquire into Statements Made in Statutory Declarations and Other Matters*, 1930, p. 93.

[16] *Leader-Post*, April 26, 1930.

[17] *Report of the Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement*, 1930, pp. 203-04.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 204-05.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[21] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 69E, de Margerie to LeBel, 16 déc. 1930.

[22] Education, File 38, Blackwood: Memorandum to the Hon., the Attorney-General, Sept. 24, 1930.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Ibid.*, Rowan to McKechnie, Sept. 29, 1930.

[25] *Ibid.*, McKechnie: Memorandum for Mr. Ball *re* Gravelbourg S. D. 2244, Oct. 7, 1930.

[26] *Ibid.*, Crough to McKechnie, Dec. 6, 1930.

[27] *Ibid.*, O'Brien to Chief Inspector of Schools, Dec. 20, 1930.

[28] *Ibid.*, Everts to McKechnie, Dec. 13, 1930.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] *Ibid.*, Memorandum *re* Public School Districts where Sisters are teaching, Nov. 26, 1930.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 69E, LeBel to de Margerie, 12 déc. 1930.

[33] Education, File 38, Reid: Memorandum for Mr. Johnson, Nov. 27, 1930.

[34] *Ibid.*, Everts to McKechnie, Dec. 13, 1930.

[35] *Ibid.*, Rowan to Deputy Minister, Dec. 12, 1930.

[36] *Ibid.*, File 34, Anderson: Memorandum for Mr. Reid, Nov. 19, 1929.

[37] *Ibid.*, Deputy Minister to Deis, Dec. 7, 1929.

[38] *Ibid.*, Little Flower R. C. S. S. D. No. 24, Minister of Education to Dubois, Sept. 22, 1930.

[39] *Ibid.*, File 34, Deputy Minister: Memorandum for Mr. Reid, Dec. 19, 1931.

[40] *Ibid.*, Little Flower R. C. S. S. D. No. 24, Deputy Minister to Laplante, Jan. 17, 1935.

[41] *Ibid.*, Reports of Inspectors on Question of Sisters Teaching, Religious Garb and Emblems, 1934 [hereafter cited as Reports of Inspectors], Return requested by Mr. Patterson, April 6, 1934, 3.

[42] Ibid., McKechnie: Memorandum for Dr. Huff, Jan. 26, 1932.

[43] Ibid., Return requested by Mr. Patterson, April 6, 1934, 6.

[44] Ibid., File 27 (b) (1), McKechnie: Memorandum for Inspectors, Oct. 1, 1931.

[45] Ibid., File 27 (d) (8), Chief Inspector to O'Brien, Dec. 1, 1931.

[46] Ibid., File 27 (b) (2), McKechnie: Memorandum for Inspectors, Dec. 3, 1931.

[47] Ibid., File 38, O'Brien to Chief Inspector, Dec. 15, 1931.

[48] Ibid., Leipzig S. D. No. 3310, Hawryluk to Deputy Minister of Education, Jan. 12, 1935.

[49] Ibid., File 38, McKechnie: Memorandum for Mr. Reid, Dec. 18, 1931.

[50] Ibid., Marcelin S. D. No. 1658, McKechnie: Memorandum for Hon. Dr. Anderson, March 10, 1931.

[51] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 69F Cargnan to Denis, 14 avril 1931.

[52] Education, Marcelin S. D. No. 1658, annotation on Petition of ratepayers of Marcelin S. D. to Hon. Minister of Education, n.d.

[53] Ibid., North Creek S. D. No. 4572, Petition of English-speaking ratepayers to Premier Anderson, Jan. 14, 1930.

[54] Ibid., Zenon Park S. D. No. 834, Squires to Dear Sir, June 12, 1931.

[55] Ibid., Special Report, June 26, 1931.

[56] Ibid., File 38, Coulter to Anderson, Dec. 11, 1930, (sic).

[57] Ibid., Quinton S. D. No. 7, Van Vliet to Anderson, Jan. 11, 1930.

[58] Ibid., File 27 (d), 25 (1), Tyson to Anderson, April 14, 1930.

[59] Star-Phoenix, Sept. 6, 1930.

[60] Education, E. M 4, Newsham to Anderson, Aug. 27, 1931.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Sentinel, Oct. 23, 1930.

[64] Education, Sitkala S. D. No. 4910, Deputy Minister to Bellefleur, Nov. 7, 1930.

[65] Ibid., Balthazar to Ball, Nov. 18, 1930.

[66] Ibid., Deputy Minister: Memorandum for Dr. Anderson, Sept. 11, 1931.

[67] Ibid., Copy of Resolution, June 23, 1931.

[68] Ibid., Ross et al to Anderson, Sept. 16, 1931.

[69] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 72B, Rapport de la Tournée de M. Raymond Denis, Oct.-Nov. 1930, p. 4.

[70] Patriote, 14 mai 1930.

[71] Education, Kermaria S. D. No. 775, Tasker to Minister of Education, May 6, 1930.

[72] Ibid., Anderson to Tasker, May 8, 1930.

[73] Star-Phoenix, April 24, 1930.

[74] Education, File 35 G, Deputy Minister to Gagné, May 20, 1930.

[75] Ibid., Deputy Minister of Education,To Whom It May Concern, June 14, 1930.

[76] Ibid., File 27 (d) 8 (1), Chief Inspector to Drimmie, June 16, 1930.

[77] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 86, Cadieux to de Margerie, 20 mai, 1930.

[78] Ibid., File 68 N, Denis to Lavergne, 1 fév. 1930.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Education, File 10, Brown-Gagné Report, p. 8.

[81] Ibid., p. 9.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Moose Jaw Evening Times, Feb. 18, 1931.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Leader-Post, Feb. 19, 1931.

[86] Daily Star, Feb. 27, 1931.

[87] PAC, Bennett Papers, Merriam to MacPherson, March 5, 1931, 351718.

[88] *Ibid.*, MacPherson to Merriam, March 5, 1931.

[89] *Leader-Post*, March 5, 1931.

[90] *Ibid.*, A.C.F.C. Papers, File 97. In his thesis K. A. McLeod, *op. cit.*, p. 223, wrongly attributes Uhrich's speech to J. G. Gardiner.

[91] *Leader-Post*, March 1931.

[92] *Ibid.*

[93] *Daily Star*, Feb. 21, 1931.

[94] *Ibid.*

[95] *Ibid.*, March 6, 1931.

[96] *Ibid.*

[97] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 68 H, Denis to Hogan, Feb. 27, 1931.

[98] *Ibid.*, Denis to Uhrich, Feb. 27, 1931.

[99] *Ibid.*, File 66, Report of A. Doiron.

[100] *Ibid.*

[101] *Ibid.*

[102] *Ibid.*

[103] *Patriote*, 11 mars 1931.

[104] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 66, Report of A. Doiron.

[105] *Ibid.*, File 70, de Margerie to Landry, 10 mars 1931.

[106] Ibid., File 68 B, de Margerie: Communiqué au *Devoir*, *Droit*, *Action Catholique* et *Canada*, 26 fév. 1931.

[107] *Le Droit*, 9 avril 1931.

[108] A.C.F.C. Papers, Files 68 C, 68 L, 68 M, *passim*.

[109] PAC, Bennett Papers, l'Union St Joseph du Canada to Bennett, 9 déc. 1930, 350929.

[110] *Ibid.*, Perley to Séguin, 11 déc. 1930, 350931.

[111] *Ibid.*, Bertrand to Bennett, 20 déc. 1930, 350953.

[112] *Ibid.*, Bennett to Bertrand, 22 jan. 1931, 350955.

[113] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 68 K, Borden to Dansereau, Feb. 6, 1931.

[114] *Ibid.*, Cahan to Dansereau, 17 jan. 1931.

[115] *Debates*, 1931, p. 111.

[116] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

[117] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

[118] *Ibid.*, p. 252.

[119] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

[120] *Ibid.*, p. 518.

[121] *Ibid.*, p. 677.

[122] *Ibid.*, p. 640.

[123] *Ibid.*, p. 1442.

[124] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 68 I, Appel de la Société St-Jean-Baptiste, n.d. (1931).

[125] *Daily Star*, April 11, 1931.

[126] *Ibid.*, May 9, 1931.

[127] *Ibid.*, May 23, 1931.

[128] *Ibid.*, June 15, 1931.

[129] *Ibid.*, June 19, 1931.

[130] *Ibid.*, March 3, 1931.

[131] *Ibid.*, April 6, 1931.

[132] *Patriote*, 1 juillet 1931.

[133] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 69 B, Mourey to Cher Monsieur, 25 juin 1931.

[134] *Ibid.*, File 68 B, Denis to Laflamme, 30 juin 1931.

[135] *Daily Star*, June 27, 1931.

[136] Education, File 27 (d) (18) (i), Henwood to Deputy Minister, Jan. 24, 1931.

[137] *Ibid.*, Brown to Anderson, Feb. 5, 1931.

[138] *Ibid.*, Anderson: Memorandum for Mr. A. R. Brown, Feb. 5, 1931.

[139] *Ibid.*, Chief Inspector to Henwood, n.d.

[140] *Ibid.*, St. Olivier R. C. S. S. D. No. 12, Report of Inspector of Schools to the Trustees, March 30, 1931.

[141] *Ibid.*, Zenon Park S. D. No. 834, Inspector Harrison: Special Report, March 10, 1933.

[142] *Ibid.*, File 35 G, Deputy Minister to Everts, July 19, 1933.

[143] *Ibid.*, File 27 (d) 28 (i), Tripp to Smerechynzki, May 16, (1930).

[144] *Ibid.*, E. 3 (m_1)., Assistant Deputy Minister to Dowenko, Feb. 13, 1930.

[145] *Ibid.*, Fish Creek S. D. No. 867, Assistant Deputy Minister to Dear Sir, May 23, 1932.

[146] For a more comprehensive discussion of the appointment see Irene H. McEwen, "Religious and Racial Influences on a Senate Appointment, 1931, *Saskatchewan History*, XXV (Winter, 1972), pp. 18-34.

[147] PAC, Bennett Papers, Anderson to Bennett, Dec. 9, 1930, 428480-481.

[148] *Ibid.*, Sheldrake to Bennett, Dec. 18, 1930, 429285.

[149] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 50 B, Denis to Hargarten, 14 déc. 1930.

[150] *Ibid.*, Denis to Bennett, 15 déc. 1930.

[151] PAC, Bennett Papers, Petition of 19 Saskatchewan M.L.A.'s, Jan. 1, 1931, 430357-358.

[152] *Ibid.*, MacPherson to Merriam, Jan. 17, 1931, 428485.

[153] *Ibid.*, Merriam to MacPherson, Jan. 17, 1931, 428486.

[154] *Ibid.*, Bennett to Anderson, Jan. 17, 1931, 428664.

[155] *Ibid.*, Anderson to Bennett, Jan. 26, 1931, 428666.

[156] *Ibid.*, O'Leary to Bennett, Dec. 30, 1930, (Pers. and Conf.), 430233.

[157] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 50 B, Denis to editors of *Le Devoir*, *Le Droit*, *l'Action Catholique*, 9 jan. 1931.

[158] *Ibid.*, File 60 B, Denis to Cher Monsieur, 16 jan. 1930 (sic).

[159] *Ibid.*, File 50 B, Bennett to Bauche, 2 fév. 1931.

[160] *Ibid.*, Denis to Bennett, 20 fév. 1931.

[161] PAC, Bennett Papers, McGuigan to Bennett, Feb. 16, 1931, 429732-733.

[162] Ibid., Prud'homme to Bennett, Feb. 25, 1931, 429736.

[163] Ibid., Murray to Bennett, March 6, 1931, 429739.

[164] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 68J, Denis to Sauvé, 10 mars 1931.

[165] PAC, Bennett Papers, Bennett to Leddy, April 18, 1931, 429770.

[166] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 50 B, Denis to Hargarten, March 24, 1931.

[167] Ibid., Hargarten to Bennett, March 25, 1931.

[168] Ibid., Bilinski to Bennett, March 25, 1931.

[169] Ibid., Denis to Marcotte, 13 mai 1931.

[170] PAC, Bennett Papers, Wilson to Bennett, March 9, 1931.

[171] Ibid., Warren to Bennett, Feb. 9, 1931, 429405.

[172] Ibid., Cross to Anderson, May 15, 1931, 429685.

[173] Ibid., Bennett to Anderson, May 22, 1931, 429687.

[174] Ibid., Bennett to Prud'homme, July 11, 1931, 430039.

[175] Ibid., Hall to Bennett, July 8, 1931, 430039.

[176] Ibid., Rossborough to Bennett, July 29, 1931, 430052.

[177] Ibid., Walker to Bennett, Aug. 17, 1931, 430057.

[178] Daily Star, July 14, 1931.

[179] Ibid., July 17, 1931.

[180] Ibid., Jan. 6, 1934.

[181] Leader-Post, May 17, 1934.

[182] Ibid., May 30, 1934.

[183] Daily Star, June 21, 1934.

[184] Leader-Post, June 20, 1934.

[185] Ibid., June 21, 1934.

[186] PAC, Bennett Papers, Anderson to Bennett, June 29, 1934, (Confidential), 351457.

[187] Ibid., Bryant to Bennett, June 20, 1934, 351413.

[188] Ibid., 351414.

[189] *Ibid.*, Patrick to Bennett, n.d., 370390-391.

[190] *Ibid.*, Channon to Bennett, June 22, 1934, 351421.

[191] *Ibid.*, Turnbull to Bennett, Aug. 20, 1934, 307407.

[192] *Ibid.*, Wickens to Bennett, July 24, 1934, 351481.

[193] *Ibid.*, Marcotte to Bennett, June 12, 1934, (Personal), 351409-411.

[194] *Ibid.*, Marcotte to Bennett, June 21, 1934, (Personal), 351499.

[195] *Ibid.*, 351450.

[196] *Ibid.*, Bennett to Marcotte, June 25, 1934, (Personal), 351443.

[197] *Ibid.*

[198] *Ibid.*, Anderson to Bennett, n.d., (Personal and Confidential), 351488.

[199] *Ibid.*, Bennett to Anderson, Aug. 8, 1934, (Personal), 351489-490.

CONCLUSION

The issues that have most threatened the basis of French culture in Canada have tended to arise in the field of education. For French-speaking minorities outside the frontiers of Quebec, where the French language does not enjoy an official status, *la survivance* has been a constant and desperate struggle, not only against the natural process of assimilation by an Anglo-Protestant majority, but also against the attitudes and actions of nativists and patriots who maintain that there is no room for the French or their language outside the "French preserve". The conflict for ethnic survival has crystallized around French language instruction and the teaching of French in schools. Given the importance of the school as a means to transmit *le doux parler* to future generations and, hence, assure *la survivance*, it is not surprising that French Canadians have accorded it the highest priority and that they have directed their efforts to enhancing the limited school privileges accorded them and maintaining an adequate level of French language instruction for their children.

In normal circumstances, it was an extremely arduous task to provide and maintain adequate French language instruction for the children of the minority in Saskatchewan because of the problems inherent in securing competent bilingual teachers, suitable textbooks, bilingual inspectors, overcoming departmental indifference and stimulating the interest of teachers and pupils. While the French were attempting to resolve these dilemmas, the school question had political ramifications, and this made the minority extremely vulnerable to the censure of those who, for various reasons, advocated English only and a non-sectarian school system. What rendered the confrontation inevitable and provided the sense of urgency in the 1920's was the fact that both the French and the nativists regarded the school and the educational process as the most important instrument with which to preserve and enhance the ancestral heritage and traditions. However, the cultural patterns which were to be preserved -- French Catholic, English Protestant -- were historically incompatible, especially in western Canada which zealous Anglo-Saxons regarded as the new Jerusalem, the Anglo-Protestant commonwealth which would be the envy of the English-speaking world.

In the period 1905-29, French Canadian participation in the Liberal administrations had provided a slight windbreak against the gusts of extremists within the Anglo-Protestant majority. Deprived of that protection between 1929 and 1934, the fortunes of the French community in Saskatchewan sank to their lowest ebb. The return to office of the Liberals, who traditionally had been more sympathetic to French Canadian aspirations than had their political opponents, at least offered hope to the despairing minority. As events were to prove, the turn in the political tide did not reflect a proportionate change in English Protestant attitudes to French Canadians, Catholic minorities and foreign language instruction. The nativist millenium had not been achieved despite the legislative record of the Anderson government but, on the other hand, there would be no immediate return to the pre-1929 status quo after the defeat of the Saskatchewan Co-operative Government.

In the meantime, the school question was given a very low profile in the columns of Le Patriote during the 1934 election campaign. In analysing the causes of the "crushing Liberal victory" the journal accorded first priority to the effects of the depression, followed by the rumor of a Conservative-C.C.F. coalition, the entry of the C.C.F. into the political arena, and the alienation of Catholics by Anderson's school legislation.[1] The editor asserted that the newly-elected administration would find French Canadians to be loyal and obedient subjects if it respected their rights. Inimical laws could be imposed upon the French Catholic minority and it would be forced to submit but would never approve of them. Stating that the rôle of the state was to protect the rights of citizens and to assure tranquility by protecting the rights of all, the editor expressed the hope that the new government "saura réparer certaines injustices qui vexent une classe nombreuse de citoyens, et restaurer des droits sur lesquels reposent la concorde et la prosperité."[2]

These aspirations were in turn shared by the 1935 annual convention of the A.C.E.F.C. and the C.S.T.A. which charged a delegation to confer with the Minister of Education, J. W. Estey. After discussing the views and desires of Catholic trustees, the members were informed that the amendments of 1930-31 would be studied by the minister and the Educational Council after the current legislative session. The delegation reported that Estey was sympathetic to the teaching of religion and French in schools and that he saw no reason why the sisters could not wear their costume while teaching in public schools.[3] Regardless of the minister's personal views, a party which had spent five years in the political wilderness largely as a result of its liberal and tolerant educational policy, would proceed very cautiously on these delicate issues. To begin with, the legislation affecting religious garb and the teaching of French was in statutory form and it could not be altered without public knowledge. The Anderson amendments had met with the approval of a large segment of the population and it is very doubtful whether the government was willing to provoke another bitter polemic by rescinding them and leaving itself exposed to accusations that it favored the interests of Catholics.

The government's reluctance to effect a return to the pre-Anderson era became apparent to the French community as its requests to resolve some of the dilemmas facing the teaching of French met with indifference, procrastination or outright refusal. In 1936, for example, the A.C.F.C. approached the government on the subject of French books for school libraries. One of the long-standing grievances of the French community was the fact that there were no French books authorized for purchase by school libraries. Numerous requests had been made to the Department and, in 1929, the cabinet appeared to be well-disposed.[4] In the wake of the defeat of the Gardiner government, however, the issue submerged again. After 1934, the Liberals were reluctant to authorize a list of French books for school libraries because they feared the political repercussions of such a measure. The French were becoming increasingly suspicious of the professed good dispositions of the Liberals who, in fact, were doing nothing to assist the teaching of French. The A.C.F.C.'s secretary, A. de Margerie, stated that the government had nothing to fear concerning the contents of the books because the French did not want a repetition of the adverse publicity surrounding the Magnan reader. Expressing his frustration in the face of government ambivalence, he stated that little could be expected from the present administration and that French Canadians had been able to obtain more from Anderson who, as a result of pressure, had withdrawn his amendment granting official recognition to only the S.S.T.A.[5]

French Catholics soon realized that they could obtain even less satisfaction from the Liberals on the more significant question of religious garb in public schools. Confrontations over the presence of sectarian symbols between departmental officials and French school districts continued after 1934 but they never achieved the magnitude of those in the period 1929-32. In the Perigord School District, for example, a Protestant ratepayer complained that the sisters were teaching in their garb and that images of the crucifix were displayed on the walls. The inspector visited the school and returned later with Dr. Stillwell, the Director of Teacher Training, who subsequently informed the nuns that they would have to make major alterations to their costume as soon as possible or forfeit the school grant. Stillwell informed the sisters that he, personally, had nothing against the presence of religious emblems and garb in public schools, but some people were complaining against violations of the School Act and the Department did not wish to have friction develop on this matter. In addition, the Department did not wish to create the impression that the legislation was not being enforced.[6]

A more serious encounter began in the Prud'homme School District in 1940 and it serves to illustrate the fact that the Liberals had no intention of rescinding the garb legislation because they feared its political implications. In 1937, the sisters in the district had begun to wear the regular habit of their order and, at the request of the school board, the crucifix was replaced on the walls the following year. There were no complaints from the two or three Protestant ratepayers in the school district and these changes had been introduced quietly.[7] The inspector of schools, H. A. Everts, noted this contravention of the School Act in the report of his visit to the school in November, 1939. When he brought the matter to the attention of the chairman of the school board, Everts was informed that the changes were consistent with the wishes of the people of the district. After this encounter, the trustees sought the advice of their curé, Maurice Baudoux, who agreed to intercede on their behalf.[8]

Baudoux informed Dr. J. M. Uhrich, the Minister of Public Works, of events in the district and of the fact that he had advised the board to ignore Everts' remarks because he was convinced that the Department would not enforce the garb legislation unless someone in the district complained. Meanwhile, the board had received another letter from Everts and Baudoux felt that the inspector was attempting "to create a difficulty on his own accord and without the slightest reason."[9] While he admitted that Everts was only doing his duty in reporting conditions to the Department, Baudoux, nevertheless, felt that the Department had no intention of enforcing such an "unjust and intolerable law" and that it would overlook what was happening in the district were it not for the fact that the inspector was insisting on compliance and "evidently exceeding his authority in seeking to do so."[10]

In the meantime, the board of trustees was advised that if the contraventions persisted, the Department would not recommend payment of the annual grant and that ratepayers could insist that individual board members make up for the loss of these funds.[11] As a result of these new developments, Baudoux again wrote Uhrich and reminded him that the Liberal party had solemnly promised to repeal section 248, the garb legislation, when it was returned to power, and that this promise had been reiterated in an emphatic manner by the former Liberal Attorney-General, T. C. Davis. Baudoux asserted, furthermore, that, after the 1934 election, Catholic organizations in the province had been assured that repeal would take place after the next election but that date had passed and nothing had been done. Consequently, Catholics came to believe that if the government did not formally repeal the legislation it would not seek to enforce it "and a return to the status of 1929 would take place quietly." Acting on this presumption, the sisters in Prud'homme had donned their garb and the trustees had replaced the crucifix in the school. Baudoux asked Uhrich to acquaint Premier W. Patterson and Estey with these facts.[12]

For his part, Estey informed the curé that he appreciated his personal views. He added, however, that government and its departments were charged with administering the law as passed by the legislature, and they must insist on all citizens complying with its provisions. Since school grants could not be paid out of public funds where the law was not adhered to, Estey could only suggest that Baudoux and the board make an effort to have the law respected.[13] Baudoux replied by reiterating his contention that Catholics believed that the Liberals would allow the provision to fall into desuetude. He also argued that the citizens of Prud'homme were bearing the brunt of compulsion because of the activities of an over-zealous inspector. Since Everts was the stumbling block, Baudoux asked that he be removed and that the district be left alone. If this request were denied, the board would have to yield, but the curé warned that members of the local Liberal association would resign and that the situation would be aired in the Catholic press, provincial as well as national.[14]

Baudoux's persistence was obviously irritating and embarrassing to Estey who forwarded a copy of the correspondence to the priest's ecclesiastical superior, Bishop G. C. Murray of Saskatoon. Murray advised Baudoux that, for the moment, it would be prudent to remove the crucifix from school rooms.[15] This recommendation came as a shock to A. Doiron, a Vonda barrister and member of the A.C.F.C.'s executive, who asserted that the question of the crucifix was a prerogative of the hierarchy. Furthermore, he feared that Estey would declare that he had the support of the Bishop on this issue and, consequently, French Catholics would have to cease their agitation to have religious emblems re-introduced in public schools.[16] As Doiron had anticipated, the Minister of Education informed the French that the Bishop approved of his stand in the affair. The news of Estey's declaration astonished Murray who informed the minister of his conviction that the legislation was unjust and anti-Christian, and reminded him of the Liberal party's promise to repeal the law. Murray also doubted the veracity of allegations that former bishops had indicated to Premier Patterson that they did not object to the legislation. Murray advised a colleague of his conviction that the Archbishop should meet with the members of the government and ask that the legislation be repealed at the next session. If it was not, Catholics in Saskatchewan should mount a concerted movement. In the meantime, the Bishop did not believe that it would be wise for one school district to place itself in a position to lose the school grant.[17]

Matters still had not been resolved in February, 1941, when Baudoux asked H. R. Fleming, Liberal M. P. for Humboldt, to look into the matter. He advised Fleming that if the Department insisted on the removal of the crucifixes by withholding the school grant, the board would have to give in because it could no longer operate. Baudoux declared that such an event would be disastrous because it would mean that, having emerged victorious, the government would then never repeal section 248.[18] In a later communication, he asked Fleming to write Patterson and suggest that if the administration did not wish to repeal the provision, it should end the imbroglio by not enforcing it.[19]

In the meantime, the indefatigable curé again took the matter up with Uhrich and suggested that there "could be no finer work for the Legislature at this time than to repeal the Anderson amendments." Quoting Lincoln, who had declared that it was more important to be on God's side than to have God on one's side, Baudoux asked "if the Cross is not offensive on the King's crown, how could it be so on the walls of our schools?"[20] Uhrich replied that the matter was receiving the "careful consideration of the Cabinet." In view of the war, however, there seemed to be "considerable difference of opinion" whether the time was opportune for contemplating "vigorous action". Questions of national unity notwithstanding, the minister was much closer to the truth when he added: "The disruption of the province in the year 1929 furnishes food for thought in this regard."[21] Equally frustrating but less equivocal was the report of O. Demers, the French Canadian M.L.A. for Shellbrook. He had spoken to some cabinet ministers and Catholic members and their consensus was "let sleeping dogs lie."[22]

The controversy over the conduct of the Prud'homme school was resolved in 1941 when Frank Kreen, the local Liberal M.L.A., held a meeting with the board and arrived at a compromise solution. Prior to this meeting, Kreen had met with the Deputy Minister of Education, J. H. McKechnie, to see what could be done to bring an end to a vexing situation. McKechnie stated that if the board were prepared to cover the crucifix with a veil, the school grant that had been withheld would be paid and the Department would regard the matter as closed. His rationale was that if the crucifixes were covered, they could not be considered as "displayed" under the terms of the legislation. Estey had made a similar proposition to Kreen.

Kreen was finally able to convince the board to accept the compromise despite the fact that two trustees originally were opposed to yielding.[23]

While this compromise appears to have resolved difficulties in Prud'homme School District, similar encounters continued to occur in other French Catholic districts. Father A. Robveille of St. Front, for example, complained to Fleming that lately the inspector had drawn the attention of the tructees of the St. Front school to the fact that the attire of the nuns was contrary to the provisions of the School Act. He also complained that another inspector had informed the teacher at the St. Raymond school that she would lose her permit and the district its grant if the crucifix were not removed from the premises. Robveille advised the trustees to replace the crucifix but he, nevertheless, remained convinced that some "free-mason fanatic" in the Department was ordering this harassment.[24] For his part, Baudoux complained to the new Minister of Education, H. Staines, that an inspector had cautioned trustees against the presence of the crucifix in Buffers Lake School District. Baudoux could not understand why this matter had preoccupied the inspector when there existed many other issues "more intimately connected with proper teaching." Since only Catholic children attended the school, the presence of the crucifix offended no one. Baudoux asked the minister to drop the matter until such time as section 257 could be amended.[25] Staines replied that attitudes prominent in the 1929 controversy still existed and, in the interests of peace and harmony, "it would be undesirable to do anything leading to a revival of public controversy." Furthermore, while the legislation remained part of the School Act, it should be observed.[26]

Despite the continued efforts of Baudoux and others to secure the abrogation of the Anderson amendment, the legislation has never been repealed. While it still forms part of statutory law, however, the section concerning religious garb and emblems has not been a contentious issue in the post World War II period, and no serious pressure has been brought to bear on the sisters to conform to its terms. The Attorney-General's Office has given this provision a very broad interpretation to the effect "that the wearing of the customary dress is in itself not a religious garb, provided that the usual religious adornments are not prominently displayed."[27] In addition, the marked decrease in the membership of religious communities in recent years, the liberalization of their dress and their gradual replacement by lay teachers would suggest even fewer grounds for complaint on the part of nativists. The changing status of the Catholic Church in Quebec and the movement toward secularization in that province since the Quiet Revolution have also contributed to dissipating anti-Catholic prejudices. The decision in 1970 by His Holiness, Pope Paul VI to disband three of the four papal corps, thereby reducing the Papacy's military strength from 702 to 59 men, has undoubtedly provided the 180 acre Vatican state with a much lower profile in international affairs.[28]

In the meantime, the government also proved reluctant to effect any change in the status of French language instruction in schools. The A.C.F.C. continued to make requests to enhance the one hour a day French course of study, but most of these would not be realized until many years later. It was only in 1961, for example, after numerous representations, that the association's own course of study was given official recognition and credit by the Department of Education. The first serious attempt to provide adequate training for teachers of French and hence eliminate a long-standing problem, came about only in the 1960's when relevant French methodology courses were offered regularly at the University of Saskatchewan.

In 1966, fifty-five years after Le Patriote had made the first representation for bilingual inspectors and forty-five years after the A.C.F.C. had implemented its own system of inspection, the Department finally appointed a Supervisor of French Instruction for the province. In 1967, the Liberal government also enacted legislation permitting the use of French as a language of instruction for one hour a day, thus eliminating the anomaly which had existed since 1918, of a one hour French course of study theoretically taught in the English language. The following year, in 1968, legislation was passed permitting the use of French as a language of instruction over and above one hour a day.

While these changes are indicative of a more tolerant and liberal attitude on the part of the majority, the more zealous nativists have yet to be converted, and they are still determined to mount a rear-guard action to protect the sacredness of Anglo-Protestant traditions. In the fall of 1961, for example, the College of Education in Saskatoon posted two Catholic clergymen to Regina collegiates for practice teaching. One priest was challenged by the parent of one of his students on the grounds that his daughter would be "unduly influenced" by someone in the attire of a priest and by having to address that person as "Father".[29] The man argued that a public school should "be as free from discrimination as a public washroom." Although press reports indicated that there had been numerous complaints, the collegiate superintendent reported that there had been only one and that it was not "too coherent." The vice-chairman of the collegiate board stated that the matter had never been brought to the board's attention and that if the matter were referred to that body, it might suggest but never insist that the priests remove their garb. For his part, the president of the Regina Ministerial Association stated that his group had considered the issue but that they "were certainly not interested in stirring up religious controversy." The Acting Deputy Minister of Education declared that his department would not make any suggestions to anyone, and added that, under the Secondary Education Act, there was no legal ground for complaint. Furthermore, he thought that it was a matter of courtesy to address a Catholic priest as "Father" because it was his professional title.[30]

The Regina Protestant League, on the other hand, regarded the presence of the two priests as a menace to the very foundations of the public school system. The League's secretary, W. Humphries, announced that his organization was sounding out the opinion of churches in Saskatchewan and that it proposed to ask the College of Education to prohibit Catholic priests from wearing their garb and from being addressed as "Father" while teaching in schools. He stated that the League objected to the use of the term "Father" on the basis of the scriptural injunction: "Thou shalt call no man father except thy father in heaven."[31] A delegation representing the League and the Orange Lodge met with the collegiate board. In his capacity as spokesman for the group, Humphries declared that religious insignia should not be worn in schools. He added that he had no objection to Catholics teaching in collegiates as long as they were "neutral figures." He then read a section of an encyclical which he alleged prohibited Catholics from reading the writings of Luther and asked how Catholics could be expected to teach the history of the Reformation.[32] The League's president, the Reverend W. J. Rees, accused "someone" of having violated the School Act, and he declared his intention of discovering who that "someone" was. He stated, furthermore, that a lot of professional people had been "disturbed" by the issue and that he had received comments from as far away as Halifax. Humphries accused the local press of misquoting him and of suppressing comments favorable to the League.[33] No action was taken by the collegiate board, and the priests finished their practice teaching in Saskatoon schools to avoid additional contention.

For its part, the Grand Orange Lodge of Saskatchewan continued to exercise its traditional vigilance against potential menaces to the province's Anglo-Saxon character. With the passage of time, the Order's influence and importance has declined to a mere shadow of its former stature but, it nevertheless, remains a sounding board for the more zealous within the patriotic element. At its 1968 annual session, for example, the Order protested against the introduction of French language instruction in schools on the basis that only five per cent of the province's population spoke French and, furthermore, public funds were being expended for this purpose. The lodge noted that the provincial government had seen fit to appoint Roman Catholic clergy to positions within the civil service, and it asked that these individuals be subjected to paying income tax regardless of any oath of poverty they might have taken. The Order also deplored the fact that Quebec was establishing relations with foreign countries without recourse to the intermediary of the Federal government.[34]

As in the case of the Lodge's influence, there was a notable decline in the importance attached to the propaganda and accusations of nativists after 1934. J. J. Maloney, for example, whose eloquence had contributed greatly to making the people of Saskatchewan aware of the dangers of Rome and Quebec, was disowned by the very individuals he helped to place in power in 1929. He recorded in his memoirs, Rome in Canada, that at times he had risked everything for a cause which he regarded as sacred and that the Anderson government had passed him by: "In their pride and conceit they wanted to believe they did it all."[35] The lecturer informed Prime Minister Bennett that he had taken in $100,000. at political meetings in Saskatchewan and he argued that former Premier Gardiner could not have got similar crowds for free, even with the accompaniment of a brass band. Despite these astronomical receipts, Maloney claimed to have incurred a debt of $7,000. as a result of his efforts in Saskatchewan, and he hinted that the party should reimburse him.[36] The arch enemy of the Papacy moved to Alberta, another province which he regarded as being in dire need of his enlightenment and message of salvation. As in Saskatchewan, Maloney was convinced that he was God's chosen instrument to protect the Anglo-Protestant tradition from the sinister designs of Rome. He had no difficulty discovering the machinations of Rome everywhere he turned in Alberta. He referred to Edmonton, for example, as "The Rome of the West" as a result of his enumeration of "165 Roman Catholic properties" in that city.[37]

Today it is doubtful whether the disclosures of Maloney and others concerning the conspiracies of Catholicism would galvanize audiences as they had in the 1920's and 1930's. The crucial concern of Canadians, especially western Canadians to whom the question of identity is always more significant, is not the fear of a Catholic Quebec, but of a French-speaking Quebec attempting to impose the use of the French language beyond its traditional confines. One has only to peruse the contemporary western press to discover this widespread Francophobia, reinforced by the West's historical distrust of eastern Canada and its alleged domination over the prairie provinces. In Regina, for example, a contributor calling himself "Fed Up" advised the Leader-Post's "My Favorite Gripe" column that it was bad enough to find bilingual printing on food packages, and that he could discover no real reason why control panels on appliances should also be "cluttered up with French." Bilingual appliances had no place in the West "where the relatively few who do speak French can also speak English."[38] For his part, "Tourist" informed the editor of the Edmonton Journal of what western Canadians regarded as another "ridiculous situation." He complained about bilingual signs in Canada's National Parks and argued that these were unnecessary since few Quebec tourists visited the Parks. He claimed, furthermore, that American visitors were getting a "big laugh" from bilingualism and bi-culturalism. "Tourist" concluded his remarks by reminding those who shared his views:

> Twenty years ago we were Canadians, now we are asked, "Are you French Canadian or English Canadian?" At least in the States you are an American first and last. Come on, western Canada, let's start kicking before it is too late. Pretty soon the signs will be French with English in fine print.[39]

In Saskatchewan, nativism was a cohesive political force only so long as the Gardiner machine, Rome-Quebec triumvirate could be depicted as ruling the province. The victory of the combined opposition forces in 1929 eliminated that element of cohesiveness, and the old issues rapidly lost their raison d'être. The various elements that had come together to form the Anglo-Protestant crusade went their separate ways, never to be united again in glorious battle for God and Empire. There were indications that the strength of the Klan was declining even before the 1929 provincial election. In March, 1929, for example, Klan lecturer R. C. Snelgrove gave a public lecture in Saskatoon. It was prophetically entitled "Is the Klan Dead?" and it drew forty-five listeners.[40] The defeat of the Gardiner administration meant that nativism had achieved its political goal of liberating the province from a corrupt government and the domination of Quebec and its bishops. Henceforth, patriots would no longer have a scapegoat which could be held responsible for the malaises affecting society or for the "foreign" influences which were threatening the province's Anglo-Protestant character. Furthermore, the legislation of 1930 prohibiting religious emblems and garb in public schools satisfied the majority of conscientious Protestants who possibly might have objected to the presence of these symbols. Similarily, the suppression of French as a language of instruction in 1931 removed another source of nativists' complaint. With the administration of natural resources returned to the western provinces in 1930, another popular accusation of Quebec domination and infringement on provincial autonomy was rendered null and void. Politically, there remained very little which nativism could offer to attract and maintain support for its cause, especially to the average Anglo-Saxon citizen who was not in the habit of overly concerning himself with the machinations of Rome and Quebec.

It was the depression, however, which delivered the coup de grâce to nativism as a political force in Saskatchewan. The depression not only plunged the province into the depths of poverty, but it also forced people to turn their thoughts and energies from crusades for cultural homogeneity and to concern themselves with the more pressing matter of survival in the midst of scarcity. In Saskatchewan, nativism could not provide a solution to cope with the recession because its philosophy had been developed during prosperous times. It had been concerned primarily with assuring conformity to a cultural and religious ideal as conceived by members of the dominant Anglo-Protestant group who feared the presence of the "foreigner" and his alien traditions. As such, nativist sentiment could be meaningful only when the dominant element presumed that its socio-economic status was being threatened by other groups. In this competition for status, spokesmen for the Anglo-Saxon élite asserted that its membership had the strongest claim on the economic benefits the province had to offer. The depression did not, and could not, arrest the decline of nativism because the recession did not discriminate along class lines and Catholic and Protestant, English-speaking and non-Anglo-Saxon alike felt its impact. It is ironic to note that other nativist movements in North America, such as the Know Nothings and the American Protective Association emerged during periods of economic dislocation, and that they were able to flourish by linking existing adversity with large-scale Catholic immigration and the spread of Catholic institutions. The return of prosperity, however, witnessed the decline of these organizations as vehicles to mobilize discontent.

In the final analysis, it is doubtful whether the nativist crusade of the 1920's and the school legislation associated with the Anderson ministry made any significant contribution to the attainment of Anglo-Saxon norms in Saskatchewan. Separate schools, for example, have not been abolished nor has their suppression ever been considered seriously by any government. The zealous nativists and patriots of the 1920's and 1930's obviously would have regarded their efforts in vain had they known that in 1964, legislation would be brought down by a Liberal administration permitting the establishment of high schools along confessional lines. Prior to this, the separate school system did not exist beyond the grade eight level. For their part, Anderson's School Act amendments far from secularized the province's public schools or their teaching personnel. In September, 1929, for example, there were ninety-six nuns teaching in twenty-six public school districts in Saskatchewan.[41] In December, 1933, after four years of "persecution", the number of nuns teaching had deccreased by three to ninety-three, but the number of districts employing them had increased by eight to thirty-four.[42] While it is true that the nuns who remained in public schools had to modify their habit, the resulting "Anderson garb", which usually consisted of an academic gown placed over their regular costume, might have been warm, it was, nevertheless, not an unbearable imposition on the religious teaching orders. In the end, the sisters abandoned public schools under their direction in only two or three districts where there were only one or two nuns teaching. In all the other districts, they retained the custody of schools under their direction.[43] It must also be remembered that the religious communities offered their services for a salary lower than that of lay teachers and, hence, the rigid enforcement of the garb legislation would have forced them out of the schools and resulted in imposing additional expenses on districts whose finances were already strained to the limit.

In addition, the depression made it impossible for the Co-operative Government to fully implement its program of secularization by eliminating the use of property not owned by the district for public school purposes. Despite his intention to terminate grants to such districts who rented premises, Anderson was forced to grant annual extensions to continue using such buildings because school districts were not in a position to undertake the construction or acquisition of new structures. This practice was continued by the Liberals after they returned to power in 1934. It was only in 1972, for example, that the Gravelbourg school, the most "notorious" example of a convent public school denounced by the Reverend S. P. Rondeau, was purchased from the Sisters of Jesus and Mary became the bona fide property of the public school district.

The nativist crusade for cultural homogeneity in the first quarter century of Saskatchewan's existence was indicative of a keenly felt anxiety on the part of individuals concerned with the nature of Saskatchewan's character and its institutions. The cultural clash in Saskatchewan was in reality a provincial reflection of the polarization of views at the national level concerning the nature of the Canadian identity and character and the extent of cultural duality in Canada. The intensity of the nativist response can be attributed to the fact that, in an atmosphere of paranoia, patriots envisaged a total collapse of their conceptual world unless a stand were undertaken immediately to restore Anglo-Protestant values to a dominant status. Thus, in the Anglo-Protestant society that was to be established by the guardians of tradition, there could be no room for French Canadians, separate schools, minority language instruction, foreigners and Catholics. In their zeal to impose cultural conformity by means of restrictive legislation, nativists placed very little confidence in the alleged superior qualities of the language and traditions they praised so highly. Assimilation was progressing, a fact which members of the French community and other ethnic groups recognized and feared, but the nativist regarded the process as too slow. Furthermore, in their minds, there was so much at stake -- the security of the province, the Dominion and the Empire -- that one could not allow chance to determine the outcome. In their haste and zeal to enforce assimilation, nativists provided the French minority with the determination to remain faithful to the tradition of _la survivance_ and to maintain itself as a viable cultural entity despite the little that remained in the way of educational privileges. The effectiveness of the more subtle persuader, television, as an assimilative force has demonstrated not only that the patriots erred in believing that Anglo-Saxon values would be submerged, but that English would never become the dominant language in a polyglot province.

FOOTNOTES

[1] *Patriote*, 27 juin 1934.

[2] *Ibid*.

[3] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 90, Rapport de la présentation des résolutions du Congrès..., 14 mars 1935.

[4] *Ibid*., File 8, Roy to Denis, 8 août 1929.

[5] *Ibid*., File 92, de Margerie to Doiron 28 fév. 1936.

[6] *Ibid*., File 100, Visite des inspecteurs à l'école de Périgord No. 850, (n. d.).

[7] *Ibid*., Baudoux to Uhrich, May 9, 1940 (Personal).

[8] *Ibid*., Maurice Baudoux is presently Archbishop of St. Boniface.

[9] *Ibid*.

[10] *Ibid*.

[11] *Ibid*., McKechnie to Guilmette, June 10, 1940.

[12] *Ibid*., Baudoux to Uhrich, June 14, 1940.

[13] *Ibid*., Estey to Baudoux, June 17, 1940

[14] *Ibid*., Baudoux to Estey, June 19, 1940.

[15] *Ibid*., Murray to Baudoux, 28 juin 1940.

[16] *Ibid*., Doiron to cher abbé, 23 juillet [1940].

[17] *Ibid*., Murray to Bourdel, 7 sept. 1940.

[18] *Ibid*., Baudoux to Fleming, Feb. 7, 1941.

[19] *Ibid*., March 17, 1941.

[20] *Ibid*., Baudoux to Uhrich, 1 march, 1941.

[21] *Ibid*., Uhrich to Baudoux, March 10, 1941, (Private and Confidential).

[22] *Ibid*., Demers to de Margerie, 22 avril 1941.

[23] Ibid., Baudoux to Murray, 24 avril 1941.

[24] Ibid., Robveille to Fleming, Feb. 4, 1942.

[25] Ibid., Baudoux to Staines, Nov. 5, 1942.

[26] Ibid., Staines to Baudoux, Nov. 18, 1942.

[27] Ibid., Ready to Author, April 22, 1974.

[28] *Time*, Sept. 28, 1970.

[29] *Leader-Post*, Feb. 12, 1962.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] Ibid., April 3, 1962.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] A.C.F.C. Papers, File 100, Report of Resolutions Committee, April 25-26, 1968.

[35] J. J. Maloney, *Rome in Canada*, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

[36] PAC, Bennett Papers, Maloney to Bennett, Oct. 12, 1933, p. 351220.

[37] J. J. Maloney, *Darkness Dawn and Daybreak* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 29-38; *Rome in Canada*, pp. 124, 157-58.

[38] *Leader-Post*, Jan. 7, 1970.

[39] *Edmonton Journal*, Sept. 9, 1970.

[40] W. Calderwood, "The Rise and Fall of the K.K.K.", *op. cit.*, pp. 261-62.

[41] AS, Education, Reports of Inspectors, Return requested by Mr. Patterson, April 6, 1934, 1.

[42] Ibid., 3, 6.

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